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JUDAISM & ITS HISTORY.

BY

DR. ABRAHAM GEIGER,

RABBI OF THE ISRAELITISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN.

Translated from the German

BY

MAURICE MAYER.

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THE ONLY AUTHORISED TRANSLATION.

VOL. I.

CLOSING WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX:

"Renan and Strauss."

M. B. Levy,
1157 Mission St.
San Francisco, Cal.

New York:
THALMESSINGER & CAHN,
Sole Publishers for America and England, 310 Broadway.

SOLE AGENTS FOR ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT:
TRÜBNER & CO.,
AMERICAN, ORIENTAL, AND CONTINENTAL AGENCY,
60 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.
1866.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following pages owe their origin to a Course of Lectures delivered before a select audience of educated persons. As they met with friends among these, so they seek them also among an educated public at large.

May subjects of such serious, profound importance as those considered in these pages, venture upon the vast market of life, considering that their examination claims the merit of presenting new results gained from new points of view? It cannot be contested that the results which science has sought to establish, with the aid of all the means at her command, should be made the common good of all educated people; but, as long as the finality of such results has not been proven, should it not be preposterous to drag them before the public at large? I weighed seriously these reflections, for the views expressed by me differ in important points from those generally adopted,

and I have thus far not had the opportunity to substantiate all of them so fully as to refer to works previously published; I can refer only to my book entitled: "*The Original and Versions of the Bible*," to my essay on "*The Sadducees and Pharisees*," and other shorter articles published in my "*Jewish Review for Science and Life*," and other periodicals. Notwithstanding these reflections, I could not withstand the temptation offered by a finished manuscript. Considering the rapid flight of time I believe to be allowed to exclaim with Hillel: "Praised be God from day to day." It is not always advisable to defer, to postpone that which we deem useful, until perchance it may become more useful. It shall be the literary task of my life to elaborate in a closer connection and more exhaustively, the historical considerations presented in the following pages; in the meanwhile I trust, that they may, in their present form, disclose the background, afford an insight into the serious studies upon which they are based, and make them sufficiently clear for those acquainted with the subject matter itself.

On the other hand, the very importance of the questions treated upon, requiring a thorough and cautious consideration, may even involve the de-

mand not too long to withhold our own views gained by honest research. The questions are, after all, upon every lip, and the man can least be exempted from answering them, of whose official and literary position such answers may pre-eminently be demanded and expected. Historical facts must be explained for every one, because they are the sources whence convictions, rules for belief and practice are derived. How, then, under such circumstances, and especially in our time characterized by spiritual commotion, could the impulse to a publication of one's own attempted solutions be repressed? May, then, my views also mingle with the crowd of diverging opinions, and testify for themselves.

To provide them with a letter of introduction in the form of extensive proofs would be entirely out of place in a preface. Yet, *one* thought I desire to recommend to the consideration of my readers. Even because the events treated upon in our book have exercised a lasting influence, views have been formed of them which are regarded as perfectly settled, so that any deviation from them is regarded as highly preposterous. Most men find it very difficult to transpose themselves, regardless of later views, into the very time of the

events and the tendencies then predominant, and to consider, with open eyes, that which then existed, and not that which at a later period grew out of it. On the contrary, men are wont to identify the present mode of thinking, which has been developed in the course of about two thousand years, with that then ruling; words and terms which, at the time when they were first used, had quite a different meaning, are now taken in a sense which was gradually attributed to them, and is now the ruling one. Hence, when we read the ancient writings containing those expressions, according to our modern usage of language, we must necessarily arrive at gross misconceptions; nevertheless, men will resist, whenever the original meaning is demonstrated, and, accordingly, the whole mode of thinking of that time elucidated. The terms: *Pharisees*, *This world*, *the Future World*, *the Kingdom of God*, and the like, belong, according to our settled conviction, to that class of words whose meanings have undergone an important change. I appeal, therefore, to ingenuous examination, that it may gain the strength to wean itself from acquired prejudices, and arrive at the knowledge to transpose itself to historical events long past. If it be conceded that two

thousand years have not vanished away without leaving their traces in the entire process of thought of mankind, it is absurd to allege, that ideas and words which throughout such a period have exercised a decisive influence upon thought and practice, had no other meaning in former times, and were not changed as to their acceptation, with the change of external conditions and the sentiments of humanity. But if we desire to understand Antiquity, we must comprehend its mode of language and thought, and not measure it by our own standard.

How far my views will meet with approval, time naturally will show; I am prepared for opposition from some quarters. Whenever it shall be presented to me with quiet and soberness, I shall examine it with all candor and willingly confess all errors that may be proven; but, on the other hand also, persist in the truth of my conviction and, if need be, defend it whenever I shall regard it as authenticated. Irritation cannot affect me. Through labors of many years in the domain of the life and science of Judaism, I have acquired the experience that scorn opposed to many an unaccustomed expression could not prevent its general recognition at a later time and to a very great extent. If I have

also entered the domain of Christianity as far as the subject of these Lectures required it, and unhesitatingly presented convictions which may be now and then in sharp conflict with those generally accepted: every honest thinker will soon discover, that I have not done so wantonly, nor from insidious hostility, but because I was compelled thereto by an urgent desire to authenticate my own conviction, while laboring in the cultivation of my own soil. It is undoubtedly high time that Jews, also, should openly declare how they understand events, the very consideration of which involve the difference of the two Religions. If free expression of opinion is both a right that must not be denied, and a duty that must not be neglected, an opponent also must be glad when contradiction presents itself openly, so that he knows whither he must direct his spiritual weapons during the contest, and is not compelled to grope in uncertain darkness in warding off hidden assaults, attacks which conceal themselves behind silence. With zealots who regard every contradiction as blasphemy, every view different from their own as damnable, and who, therefore, would desire to shut its mouth; who love to strengthen the weakness of their arguments by the violence

of their proceeding: with such zealots considerations as those mentioned will have no weight; with calmness, I look forward to their condemnation. I *alone and exclusively* bear the responsibility of all I have said in the following Lectures; how many, or how few of my co-religionists share or approve my views, I know not. Hence, I make exclusive claim to the *entire* honor of being attacked. My words must not afford a pretext for an accusation against Jews and Judaism. But should this, nevertheless, be done with the hypocritical face of piety, a new, sad example would be shown, what value is placed, in certain circles, upon—I will not say, the proud word of love, but in general—upon justice and fairness.

If, thus far, I have added a few words to what I have uttered in the following Lectures, I owe still more so, an explanation for all omissions. Originally, it was not my intention to devote such a scanty review as contained in the Twelfth Lecture, to the long period from the destruction of the Second Temple to the present time; it was only the narrow limit of time and of the number of Lectures that ultimately necessitated that course; but, I trust, I shall meet with no serious blame on that account. The earlier period remains the

foundation and could not yield to a shorter consideration than has been devoted to it. May our review of the later period, in the meanwhile, be regarded as a comprehensive transition to the present time; to be able to present this period, also, according to its fundamental ideas and decisive events, in a similar mode, in a new course of Lectures, is a hope to the realization of which I look forward with delight.

May these leaves, then, borne by a favorable breeze, reach the hands of appreciative readers.

GEIGER.



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LECTURE I.

OF THE NATURE OF RELIGION.

If I crave your attention for a series of Lectures on Judaism, its essence, its progress and development, its relation to other kindred appearances in history; on the mission which it undertook to fulfill, and the manner in which it has fulfilled it; on the mission which still remains to it, both for the present day and a long future—this subject, presenting as it does a grand world-historic phenomenon may, it is hoped, demand your sympathy. A grand world-historic phenomenon—not merely conveying the idea that Judaism, like many other historic phenomena, entered upon the world's stage for a certain time, and, during that time, exercised great influence; but, then, as something finite, disappeared again, and has become, or shall become, merely a subject for historical consideration—no, we may call it a world-historic pheno-

menon, as an institution which reaches back into that age whence historical knowledge began for the world; which has not alone existed for thousands of years, and still exists, but because it has passed, as it were, as an immortal wanderer, through history, continually accompanying history, and co-operating with it from its very first beginning even to this day;—a world-historic phenomenon, because it has given birth to kindred phenomena, Christianity and Islamism, and thrown them into history as great motive powers which exercised their reforming, vivifying effect upon vast multitudes, shaped the whole bent of their spirit, and affected the development of all conditions; and because thus Judaism itself has done all this through the medium of those two phenomena. And yet, notwithstanding Judaism presents such a world-historic phenomenon—may claim such a grand importance—notwithstanding, and perhaps just on account of all this, the opinions expressed concerning it are most conflicting; nay, the importance of Judaism is denied either from first to last, or it is asserted, that it has lost it for a long time past, or at least for our time.

Judaism, such is the first assertion, is a *Religion*, is one of the various forms in which Religion pre-

sents itself in the life of man, in history; but Religion itself is something beyond which we have progressed — obscure, blind belief, axioms that cannot be proven, and ought not to be proven, which the human mind cannot master, but which take possession of it and seek to subjugate it— such conceptions have long been left far behind us. Such ideas may have been very appropriate for a time when mankind was yet in its earliest infancy, groped in the darkness, feeling and clearing its way through the surrounding world, while the premises were wanting whereby it might have arrived at knowledge. But we are the knowing ones; we have already reached such an eminence as affords us the means to pronounce the most decided judgment, so that we are no longer fit subjects of blind belief and submission. But granted even that Religion may claim also in our time some authority, that it embraces higher truths which man evolves from his own spirit, higher truths concerning God, the spirit of man, freedom of will, immortality, virtue, etc., and that these truths arranged in a compact order may be designated as a System of Religion; what value can be ascribed to the claim pre-eminently asserted by Judaism, and after it also by other Religions,

the claim to *Revelation*, through the medium of which those truths have reached the human spirit, without being created by it; the claim, that those truths have been made known to mankind in a supernatural way, and continued in the same manner without being re-created by each and every generation? We have conquered for ourselves the autonomy of the spirit; all claims raised against it, such as Judaism raises, are unjustified; the more so, when the troubled admixture of Tradition also comes in for its share, to be received, at the same time, as a truth. Or does Judaism, perchance, repudiate Revelation and Tradition? Will it be satisfied with the honor of having *first* proclaimed those sublime truths that have become the inheritance of mankind—that it was the first clearly to enunciate ideas which are destined for all mankind, and have completely taken possession of it? Be it so! Let it rejoice in that glory! But yet, such is the further assertion, even this glory cannot be granted to it altogether undiminished. The truths, as enunciated by Judaism are *imperfect;* it was only other later Religions that have paved the way into their depth, have completely cleared them up, on one hand filling up all gaps in a most magnificent

manner, and on the other, removing all superfluous elements and correcting all errors. Hence Judaism is *antiquated*, is a ruin which has preserved itself for a small circle, but which is no longer by any means an authoritative power; its spiritual life has been left in a decrepit state, whereas other Religions have gone forward and extended their power over the world. Judaism remained within a narrow circle, for which—thus it is still further asserted—it may perhaps have had its importance in a time likewise passed away, in the middle ages; it was at all events a medium of spiritual and moral life for its own professors. At a time when barriers of separation existed among men, when each smaller portion lived in seclusion from the other, and the members of each of these derived their life from their separate associations, Judaism also exercised its authoritative and beneficial influence upon its own members. But at present, even those born in Judaism, especially the thinking ones, have progressed far beyond that standpoint; mankind has become a unit; spiritual life, thought and feeling, though manifesting themselves in many forms, are nevertheless one and the same when their essence is considered; all spiritual treasures have become a common in-

heritance of mankind; the individual is satisfied to be a man. Those occupying a higher position among all parties and associations constitute a unit; Judaism has forfeited its importance *for the present*, for those who stand upon the height of the time.

These are powerful and important objections as they present themselves to our consideration. Let us approach them. The thinking man must unswervingly face all doubts, must not hide himself before them; and even when such doubts present themselves in the form of assertions, he must not at once despair and declare himself defeated.

We are the knowing ones. This assertion is uttered by our age, with proud consciousness, in opposition to the remark of a sage who said—though the honor is paid him, that he had brought wisdom from heaven to earth—that the highest degree of knowledge consisted in knowing that we know nothing. It is true, during the two thousand years since this was announced to the world, we have made great progress, and sciences of which the world had then no idea, are now either the common good of all, or at least of those who more seriously devote themselves to research. Natural science has made giant strides; she teaches

us to dissolve substances which formerly were regarded as indissoluble; she instructs to follow the powers which bind and dissolve; she has discovered how we may penetrate the most volatile elements, deeper and deeper, to fathom their laws and reduce them to higher laws. How far she may yet progress, who can foresee? What depths she may yet penetrate, who can foretell? She has watched the secret ways according to which growth and decay proceed, and has arranged them in a system of rules and laws. And yet, however far she may still advance—for we can put no limits to her progress—will she not meet atoms which she can no more dissolve? Will she not ultimately meet an original substance which will ever remain original substance?—discover an original power which will ever remain intangible and inexplicable? Will she not be compelled to acknowledge laws and rules which must be supposed as existing, without being able further to prove them? But laws are established, orders are arranged. The human mind will not be satisfied with a blind power, will not be content to stand still when arrived at a certain point; with a presentient glance it will perceive the wise spirit that must have established that order and rule.

Man, conscious of his own reason, cannot resist that impelling temptation.

Nature presents herself in a great variety of beings, according to classes and species, which, while disinct from each other, work together, and for each other, but are not transformed one into the other. Modern Natural Philosophy has ventured upon the bold step to examine the mystery, how beings of a higher order could grow out from those of a lower species; how higher organisms gradually developed themselves from the most inferior. Whether it will succeed to penetrate also into that mystery—whether such a transformation of one from another shall prove to be truth, is the office of naturalists to decide in the present or in future. But this much we see, that species do exist, that they do not change one into another, that they are and remain distinct from each other. The same Power which at the beginning created them—as is asserted, one out of the other—should necessarily continue the same process, should even this day create an animal from a plant and continuously perfect it to its higher organism. But the present world presents no such process; on the contrary, every species remains within its fixed limits, it continually begets

individual beings of its own kind, but is not changed into another. Hence it is not a *promoting*, but *ordering* power that creates and preserves every kind in its individuality; not one that is blindly rushing forward without stopping, but which preserves nature as a whole, composed of different parts, so that it is unchangeable both as a whole and in its variety. Nature is arranged according to a fixed *will*, according to an *independently ruling reason*, and is preserved in this arrangement: the Universe is *one* system, held together by its great variety, composed of different parts, and yet forming one harmonious whole. This is *wisdom*, judicious and systematical order, so that even destructive powers present themselves as creative elements, producing new, nobler creations. This is the work of self-conscious Reason, —not that of a power propelling without a certain object in view. It is a bold word which an astronomer once uttered when he presented his work on astronomy to his monarch. The latter being astonished not to find God mentioned in the book, the former observed: "I need not that hypothesis." It is true, it was not neeessary for him, in his explanation of the laws and their working, at the same time to state how they grew

into existence, and who had fixed them everlasting and unchangeable; but what a man of profession may leave untouched, that a thinking man cannot avoid, he must seek a higher cause which creates according to rational principles.

For it is not alone nature around him that he must explain,—he himself must be explained together with it; he is part and parcel of nature, and to search himself is a task which he cannot avoid. But man becomes the greatest enigma even to himself, the more he reflects upon himself. It is true, it has been essayed to connect man very closely with similar beings; species of apes have been spoken of that are but very little different from man. It has been said, there are some species of apes appearing as sunk in profound sadness, as pervaded by a longing desire to be freed from that narrowed confinement; 'tis a contemplative sentiment that man attributes—merely attributes, indeed!—to the soul of an animal, when he regards and represents animal stupor as profound sadness. The distance between the most perfect animals and man himself will remain a gap that can never be filled. To draw a parallel, even only very distantly, between man who, despite his inconsiderable bodily strength,

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notwithstanding he is greatly inferior, with regard to corporeal attributes, to other animals which are more powerful and more adroit, has nevertheless become the lord of the earth, of the whole creation, who more and more subjects to himself everything in inanimate and animate nature; who accommodates himself to, and controls all places, conditions and circumstances: to draw even the most distant comparison between man and any one animal that lives secluded—remains fixed in the same state, is limited to a certain part of the world; that, without exercising the least influence upon the rest of creation, dies away and leaves no trace behind—such a comparison, it must be confessed, looks like the reasoning of a child that fondles—then throws away and destroys its own little mimic toys! No, man is of an entirely different genus. Man, who is bound to time and space like all other corporeal and earthly creatures; individual man, who is tied to a certain extent of soil, moves within a small particle of time, nevertheless, on the other hand, conquers time and space within him, can transpose himself into the most distant regions, can place the past before him, pre-suppose the future, has a conception of what is beyond the present. Such faculty

cannot be the attribute of the body; the body is circumscribed by space and time,—nothing can proceed therefrom that conquers space and time. Man has the power of remembrance, he bears within him that which is past, he can recall it, revive, as it were, the most various things from his memory. Knowledge has become his property,—having secured the knowledge of one thing within him, he proceeds to gain that of another. But where does it dwell, of which part of his being is it an attribute? Let us pronounce the word which would not exist if the thing did not exist: it is the *Spirit.* Man has a spirit, a faculty within him which is connected with his body in so far as it moves, animates him, but which is still far more, because it impels him towards rational contemplation, opens for him an insight into objects which his physical vision is unable to perceive or to attract. It is a great word which the thinker who inaugurated the modern system of thought pronounced: "*I think, hence I am.*" The consciousness of this, that I think, affords me the guarantee that I am; otherwise I could doubt all that surrounds me, could doubt even myself; my physical vision is very deceptive, it assumes certainty only through my

consciousness. For, indeed, man sees all objects presented to him from the outer world in a reverse position, as they are reflected upon his retina, and his belief that he sees them as they really are, is merely the result of our thought within us which effects the transposition with imperceptible velocity. Properly speaking, man sees no distance, the impression made of an object through the medium of rays is fixed within his sense of seeing. One object is as near to him as another, no matter how much or little the one or the other is removed from him. It is for this reason, that, at first, nothing appears distant to a blind man on regaining his sight; every object presents itself to his vision as though it were close before him. It is only thought, habit, that teaches man to measure the objects lying between, and hence he concludes, that many objects are not as near as they are reflected upon his organ of sight, that they really exist in different distances. Sounds approach us one after another, their connection is not expressed, only through our thought, through our mental grasp, they become a unit; their harmony is within us, it is, as it were, awakened within us only by the sounds that follow each other. And the same can be proven

with regard to all other senses; it is thought alone that gives shape to our physical experience, thought which, at the same time, furnishes man with expression for all his feelings and sentiments. For language, the most faithful reflector of the spirit, constitutes the connecting link between man's inmost thoughts and the outer world; language most decidedly distinguishes him from all other created beings—language, born, as it were, from inward clearness, renders, in its turn, thought intelligible, and gives it full and entire clearness. And nevertheless! this being upon whom the impress of dominion is distinctly stamped, whose spirit can penetrate the universe, whose vision can survey all time—this being feels himself, at the same time, narrowed down, meets limits everywhere set up against his life and thinking. However far a single man may progress, he will nevertheless remain merely a part of mankind, mankind itself only a part of creation, and creation, in its turn, is but the work of a greater, higher Spirit. This narrowness adheres to man; being but a part of the whole he cannot arrive at a full knowledge of the Original Cause from whence it came; thus he must ever bear within him the

conviction that he is but a fractional part of the whole, that he is but fragment himself.

Man, furthermore, feels that he is also in other respects highly elevated. He acts according to resolves, to principles which he forms himself; he proceeds according to his own will; he is the author of his own deeds; he is not impelled by a force from without; he reflects, judges and decides—what a boundless distinction! Oh! if he only could rejoice thereat with perfect satisfaction! But a mighty conflict arises within him. Whatever I may choose, however I may decide, I am induced thereto by certain reasons. These depend upon knowledge, and this I have derived from certain causes; aye, I am a child of my time, I suffer myself to be impelled and guided by what my time presents as truth; I am a child of my surroundings, I am not my own creator, I am not the author of my own actions. The desire everywhere to recognize the law of cause and effect supplants my freedom, shows a necessary continuance of cause and effect, until I arrive at causes that are without me. And yet, man in his deepest self-consciousness feels that he is free, that his will is vested with the power to oppose and

conquer all external influences. He is seized with repentance when he acknowledges an action of his to be wrong; but he must reproach himself only with those actions which have been prompted by himself, and not with such to which he was impelled by uncontrollable necessity. Thus, then, man is free, aud yet again in bonds! Here, also, he perceives his limits, feels that he has not arrived at that degree of perfection after which he longs, and of which he has presentiments. He is endowed with a double nature, with the consciousness of his greatness and eminence, on one hand, and on the other, with the humiliating feeling of his dependence;—on one hand, with the native impulse to raise himself to that source whence his own spiritual faculty, which is not self-creative even because it is dependent, has proceeded; and on the other, his inability to completely occupy that highest degree. Is this not, indeed, *Religion?* The consciousness of man's eminence and lowness; this aspiration to perfection, with the conviction that we cannot reach the highest degree; this presentiment of the *Highest* that must exist as a freely acting will, of that Wisdom from whence also our little fragment of wisdom proceeds, of an infinitely ruling Freedom, whence

also our limited freedom has sprung forth—is not this longing towards above, this soaring up with all the strength of our soul, the very essence of Religion? Religion is not a system of truths, it is the jubilation of the soul, conscious of its eminence, and, at the same time, the humble confession of its finiteness and limitedness. Religion is the aspiration of the spirit after the Ideal; the pursuit after the highest ideas; the desire to reach maturity in spiritual life, and to dive deeper and deeper into it; to conquer the Corporeal and Earthly; and, on the other hand, the feeling, the unavoidable experience that, after all, we are bound up with the Finite and Evanescent. Religion is the aspiration after *that* Most High whom we conceive as the sole, full truth; the soaring up to the All-encircling Unity, which man, through the whole nature of his spirit, presupposes as a whole, as the foundation of all that exists and shall be, as the source of all earthly and spiritual life, of which he bears within him the most vivid conviction, though he be unable completely to know it. All this may be designated as an ancient theory, according to which there is nothing but presentiment, longing, conception, conjecture, which cannot be satisfactorily substantiated. But

such even is the very nature, the very essence of man; and it must be so, because he is an individual being, a fragment torn from the whole spiritual life to which he feels himself drawn up, without being able to perceive it in its entirety and perfection. The great remark of Lessing: "If God, holding in one hand the whole truth, and searching after truth in the other, were to say to me, 'Man, choose!' I would pray to Him and reply, 'The whole truth is not for me, I desire searching after truth,'" is a remark of the most profound and truest religiousness. Yea! longing after the Highest and Noblest, attachment to the Whole, soaring up to the Infinite, despite our finiteness and limitedness,—this is Religion. Herein also consists the guarantee of the Highest and Infinite, because we long to soar up to it; of the Eternal Wisdom, of the Free Agency that encircles all, and creates every thing from out of itself, because we aspire thereto, because we bear the longing after it within ourselves. It cannot be the offspring of fiction, the child of our own imagination; it is the noblest reality within us. Religion is not an invention of priests; it ever did, and still does exist in mankind; and every good and noble aspiration—when man, giving up his seclu-

sive selfishness, lovingly and fervently attaches himself to his country, and sacrifices for it his life and welfare, and gladly labors for all, and is filled with longing after higher pursuits—is the work of Religion. Religion may present itself in various outward forms; Religion, as such, is a necessity, the noblest attribute of man; it will cease only *with* man, not among men. As long as the spirit longeth after the Spirit of All, as long as this longing shall remain, so long shall religious life exist. Religion is life. All actions of man, if prompted by, and tending towards higher principles, are the work of Religion, are the result of Religion. Religion will become purer, more enlightened, but it will ever remain in existence, because man's longing and imperfection will never cease. The more he advances, the more will he feel his distance from the Infinite and Eternal Wisdom; but, at the same time, the more devotedly look up to it, draw from it, bow to it with fervency and humility. If Judaism did, and still does work as Religion, it is, indeed, one of the noblest animating powers among mankind.

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LECTURE II.

RELIGION IN HEATHEN ANTIQUITY. RELIGION IN JUDAISM.

The preceding considerations do not claim the honor of establishing new foundations and building truths thereon; this would be in conflict with the essence of Religion, it would divest it of its very peculiarity, consisting in this, that it is the inheritance of mankind. Religion is an eternal, self-continuing power; it is not some fragile edifice which, soon broken down, may be rebuilt in an altered state. Nor did our essay mean to adduce new, decisive evidences for Religion, thereby to prove its existence. Religion is not philosophy, the slowly progressing thinking power of man; it is an inborn longing of the whole man, affecting his thoughts, feelings and moral will. Our intention was merely to invite you again to examine, whether science—especially natural phi-

losophy—and human knowledge had now so far progressed, as to have so clearly solved the enigma of existence, of the nature of man; as to have so thoroughly explained all antagonisms, that man's desire to aspire beyond, to break through finiteness, to seek some explanation which, though it may not afford the most perfect evidence, may yet satisfy the wants of his inmost heart—that, I say, such a desire ought to be repudiated as something foolish and useless. Religion is not philosophy; it is rather the manifestation of the power of attraction spread throughout nature. Wherever we turn, we discover in all parts of the life of nature, that one is propelled towards the other, that one is attracted by the other; that every being is invested with the desire and longing for the rest. The same power of attraction moves also man; with this difference, however, that he is conscious of it; he feels the desire of association, to step out of his finiteness and connect himself with the Infinite, lovingly to nestle himself, with all the fervency of his soul, near the Source of Wisdom and Love. Philosophy, like every other science, is the toilsome conquest of individuals, of those endowed with faculties of a higher order. Religion is a common treasure of humanity, it is

a peculiar susceptibility of man, which irresistibly develops itself in him, more or less clearly illuminating him with its truths. Hence, Religion has existed from eternity, and will exist unto eternity.

While Religion is thus, on the one hand, the most peculiar element in man, his deepest, innermost attribute, and distinguishes him as an individual in his belief and practice, and constitutes the innermost motive power of his whole being, it forms, on the other, the bond of all mankind, even because it is something common to all, the connecting link between the several parts, and between them and the Whole. All parts in man are vested with the desire of uniting with each other; mankind is endowed with the innate longing, compelling all individuals, while completely preserving their separate existences, to surrender their distinct exclusiveness, and unite together as a whole. This mingling of the individual with the whole manifests itself primarily in a single nation; a nation appears as a unit, distinct from other nations, and yet, on the other hand, as a conglomeration of a large number of human beings of different kinds. Thus also Religion primarily presents herself as the Religion of a

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people, but with the instinct to conquer all mankind, to gather all under her standard. If this instinct is sufficiently powerful, if Religion, though presenting itself as a national Religion, yet rises superior to its nationality; if it continues to live even after the fetters which national life had laid around it have been broken, and outlives the national existence of a people in which it lived, then, indeed! it furnishes thereby the proof of its reliability, of its truth. Judaism has proved itself as a power outliving its peculiar nationality, and may, therefore, claim especial consideration. But it is not alone the duration of its temporal existence that should guide our judgment; on the contrary, an examination into its inner worth can alone afford us a true measure for our estimate of it. A comparison between Judaism and other Religions, so long as they had not yet come into contact with it, and had not yet been affected by its influence, will afford us the surest conviction of its superiority over the other Religions of Antiquity.

Without doubt, the most talented nation of Antiquity, which was distinguished by noble culture and exercised the most profound influence upon the development of the whole human race, whose arts and sciences have exercised the most vivify-

ing and quickening effect upon all times, so that, when they were again exhumed from their long-sleeping grave, appeared as a refreshing well from which mankind has drank with greedy draughts—such a nation is undoubtedly the Greek nation. As Pallas Athene proceeds armed and equipped from the head of Zeus, thus also the Greek nation appears upon the stage of history completely furnished with the noblest weapons of the spirit, attired with the loveliest flowers of spiritual life. Even in its first authors and poets it displays its whole inner being, presenting, though not yet emerged from its infancy, not yet loosened from its natural life, a harmonious, finished nature. Even its most ancient poet, *Homer*, has for all times remained an unequalled pattern! He exhibits an imagination which boldly soars up and, yet, is not unbridled, a taste for the Beautiful and Harmonious expressed in the noblest euphony! How much do the beautiful, noble forms we meet with there gladden us! Men full of great strength, and yet sobered, moderated by an innate feeling for the Decorous;—figures that, though high and sublime, move and affect us by their child-like traits. Nausicaa in her virgin modesty; Penelope's touching faithfulness; the stalwart, bold Hector

affectionately bidding farewell to his wife, and playing with his child—these are everlasting, noble human figures, to which we are again and again returning with heartfelt elation. And what strange religious belief did that richly endowed nation bring forth! How imperfect and childish is its belief concerning the Divine, its Mythology! Its gods—for *one* god is out of the question—are a powerful, turbulent aristocracy presided over by a more powerful one. A *more* powerful one, but by no means an All-powerful one; for his power does not everywhere intercede, is barely able to execute what his will had resolved to accomplish. Why, the other gods at one time ventured to bind him; whereof he was once reminded by Thetis, who saved him:

"When the other Olympians once did threaten to bind him,"

she called Briareus to her assistance,

. . . "for his strength is greater than even his father's."

His power being thus limited, that of the other gods is still more so; it is true, they surpass man, but, after all, they are but greater, more exalted men, whom even mortals can resist, and who are even wounded by bold heroes. Why, Kypris, and Ares, the God of war, receive wounds at the

hand of the impetuous Diomedes! And when Venus complains of her shame, her mother consoles her, replying:

"Many of us who inhabit Olympian houses have *suffered*
Grief at the hands of men....."

Above the Gods there stands a mysterious unconquerable power, before which even the Gods must bow. *Ate*, the goddess of mischief, dements them, so that Agamemnon refers to her with the intention to free himself from his responsibility, saying:

"What, then, indeed could I? all things are done by the goddess,
Jove's all-powerful child, Ate, dementing all mortals.
She allures them to sin, and one at least she misguided,
Jove himself she seduced, though he surpasses supremely
Men and Gods, in power....."

and then relates how she deceived him:

"....Jove did not suspect her deception,
Uttered the fatal oath and sustained deep grief for his rashness."

Jove has no power to control unavoidable Fate, *Moira*, and breaks into this lament:"

"Woe me! woe me! Fate now wills that Sarpedon, of mortals
Dearest, should fall by the hand of Patroclus, the son of
Menoetius."

The same theory was repeated, centuries afterwards, by Sophocles:"

"The pow'r of Fate supremely rules indeed,
No Ares can, nor courage bold,
Nor towers, nor the blackened ship
Borne by the waves, escape its blows."

Hence even *Ares*, the god of war, must yield to this mysterious power.

That an omniscience of the gods, or even of the highest God, is altogether out of the question, is evident from the fact, that they are ruled by Ate, are demented and deceived by her, because they are ignorant of what is to happen. Therefore, we must not be astonished to hear very strange statements concerning the life of the gods, how they indulge in sweet slumber:

"Now all beings, the gods as well as the warriors gallant
Slept all night: but slumber would flee from the eyes of
Jove, who pondered within his soul....."

He could not sleep, not because there was no sleep for him in general, but because reflections in which he indulged disturbed him in his slumber. These imperfections, these ideas unworthy of God, are deeply rooted in moral defects to which the gods are heirs, in foibles exhibited with the most open *naiveté*. We have seen already, that Ate dements them and causes them to do wrong; they also revel in repasts, indulge in the most sensual pleasures, commit faithlessness, perpetrate forni-

cation, dispute and quarrel in the most intolerable manner, so that even Jove cannot help complaining to Thetis:

"Fatal, indeed, it is, that strife and contention with Here
Thou wilt excite, who will upbraid me with gibes and reproaches.
Why, she quarrels already with me in the midst of th' immortal
Gods, unceasing....."

They are cruel, arbitrary, envy men their happiness and welfare; and if they now and then protect the cause of justice, it is merely the whim of the moment, which, at another, is frustrated by all sorts of causes.

If, then, the gods are such, it is but natural that the practices of men who have created and worshipped such divine ideals, cannot be of a character to aspire to true perfection. Man, it is true, is often better than his principles, and the Greeks may likewise have been better than their mythology would lead us to suppose them to have been; nevertheless, the connection between the ideal of divinity above us and the ideal of morality within us is too close, that the defects of the former should not find its expression in the latter. Let us consider how this is shown in Hellenism! It emphatically teaches man's finiteness and evanescence;—all must die and are perish-

able; man has no power to contend against his gods; and whenever he ventures to do so, guilt and terrible ruin will persecute him. Therefore, man should lay off all pride, abstain from all bold aspirations, move within certain limits. Moderation—*Sophrosyne*—is true virtue, taste for the Decorous, for harmony, the knowledge of continence and self-command: virtue is the medium between all extremes, preventing all undue excesses;—for the Greeks, it is the Useful, the Agreeable; but the inmate longing after higher purification, the desire to remove all human, moral defects and soar up to the Divine as the source of all purity, was not fully understood by the Greeks. The knowledge of our sinfulness, that is to say, of that element of our nature which renders purity finite and limited;—the knowledge, that sensuality is so strong in us that we have continually to struggle in our pursuit after goodness and perfection, was entirely unknown to the Greeks; nor had they any understanding of the nature of that struggle; to wit, that it ennobles and elevates man, leading him through repentance to glorious victory. If later poets who drew from the noblest elements of Grecian nature, if the tragic poets pre-eminently emphasize guilt as the cause of the most difficult

intrigues in human life, that guilt is almost always a traditional one, not born of suffering man himself, but, on the contrary, it is transferred by inheritance from ancestors to later generations. Because the former would not honor the gods, would scorn them, dared to contend against them, defiled themselves by heavy guilt, this guilt passes over upon a future generation, which suffers and perishes by it, without having had a share therein; it is not a really moral struggle, not a guilt from which man has to cleanse himself: it is blind fate which sin fastens upon man—posterity is laid in chains by the fatal decree of ancient guilt. It is true, we are moved when we see a strong man shake his chains, we feel our weakness, we bow in reverence, it is a "taming of the passions," as Aristotle expresses it, but not a moral elevation. But how different is it when man, though conquered physically, gains the victory within himself by his moral exertions, by his struggles even against external adversities; when noble thoughts support him; when profound ideas gain the ascendancy in him, in opposition to the realities without, that would not allow those ideas to make themselves respected; when the individual as the representative of a higher idea must yield, but

nevertheless rises above his defeat as a hero, as a victor! This higher conception of man's estate we find little exhibited in Hellenism.

Grecian Philosophy is not blind to these defects and imperfections; ever wakeful, she has boldly pronounced her censure. Even *Xenophanes*, the founder of the Eleatic School, in the 6th century before Christ, severely inveighs against such religious belief. At the very outset he repudiates the doctrine of the plurality of gods; the true idea of divinity admits only a unity; mortals believe that the gods had been born, as though

> "It were not sinful to believe they had been born,
> To represent them vested with mortality."

That sacrifices and dirges are devoted to *Leucothea*, the goddess of the sea, he denounces as a contradiction:

"If she be mortal, then no sacrifices should be offered her,
If she be goddess, then no fun'ral dirges should be sung for her."

Thus also he inveighs against the doctrine, that the gods occupy certain habitations, that they have certain forms, and especially, that they are endowed with physical attributes:

> "Every thing Hesiodus and Homerus attribute
> Unto the gods, whatever degrades and disgraces the mortals,
> Robbery, and adulterous practice, and cunning deceptions."

Here we perceive a full and clear acknowledgment of the imperfect idea of divinity in Hellenism, a severe censure pronounced by one of the ancient Grecian philosophers, but which was hardly repeated with such searching emphasis. It is true, later philosophers also ventured to utter their invectives, but they rather strove to idealize, to teach purer ideas of the divinity and man's relation thereto, without engaging in such a hot struggle against the ruling belief. They acted thus, no doubt, not because they feared the conflict between their inner conviction and falsehood, but as though they had felt that such a conflict would be directed against the peculiar nationality of their people; as they apprehended they should destroy the very nerve of the national existence, if they openly assaulted its mythology. They sought more or less to reconcile their convictions with the popular religion, either by ignoring or explaining it. But if nevertheless a bold expression now and then reached the heart of the people, such a decided opposition manifested itself, that the critic was soon forced to silence. Anaxagoras and Protagoras were compelled to go into exile; Socrates, who treated the popular belief with great consideration, had to drink the poison-

ed chalice. The popular belief of the Greeks was unsusceptible of transformation, of reform, it must needs remain as it was, or cease altogether. A Religion which bears in itself more powerful ideas than it exhibits in imperfect finite forms, may, in the course of its development, cast off many a portion of its system, efface many ancient expressions, and produce new ones by means of its creative power; but a Religion that has completely exhausted itself by its very appearance, whose stem, blossom and fruit fully correspond with its root, and consume it altogether, must perish to its very root, as soon as its blossom and fruit have been injured. Such was the case with Hellenism.

Considering that one of the most talented nations of Antiquity thus professed such crude religious ideas, we need hardly cast an examining glance at the multitude of other nations that have passed away without leaving any vestige of higher culture behind; nations that lived in rude savageness must needs have entertained also rude notions concerning the deity and man's relation to it. And when we, moreover, contemplate the groups of nations surrounding the Jews, nations, that surpassed that little people and kept it encircled,

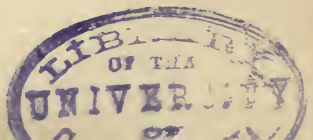
some of which for a time exercised decisive influence upon the destiny of the world, we shall feel horrified at the savage worship they practised, at that degeneracy representing itself as divine worship: human sacrifices offered up to Moloch, who robbed mothers of their children to consume them in his red-hot embrace, low debaucheries as pleasing offerings to their gods! The standing expression of the Bible: "To go a whoring after the gods of the nations" may be taken in its most literal meaning. A horrible picture!

Now, it is in the midst of such surroundings that Judaism appeared, and, like the witch of Endor at seeing Samuel, we may well exclaim: "I see God ascending out of the earth," out of that earth which is defiled, given up to sensuality, desecrated by low practices; out of that earth, I behold the Divine arise in lustrous purity. The name attributed in Judaism to God was afterwards most significantly considered as unutterable, because no name can comprise Him, is adequate to His being; the very sounds of that name have been lost, and, indeed! we know not at present its true pronunciation. But its meaning is certain! "He is" is that meaning; as God speaking of Himself proclaims in Holy Writ: "I am who

I AM," so man says of Him: "HE IS!" the Only Existence, the All-comprising Being both for nature and the life of man. "*He is*," and as such an All-comprising Being is naturally also *Absolute Unity*. This term "Unity" resounds through all the writings of Judaism, and it is unnecessary to refer to the fundamental profession of Israel: "Hear, O Israel, '*He is*' is our God, '*He is*' is One in Unity." This All-comprising Being is the Sole, fully living Individuality, but, at the same time, even as the Most Universal One, invisible, as it is said: "Ye saw no manner of form," you heard only utterances, you observed only the brilliant light beaming forth from Him, sounds proceeding from Him; these are merely effects, but Judaism has avoided to represent Him by image regarding it as the greatest monstrosity, as the greatest abomination. For this *Infinity* the Jews have at all times sacrificed their lives. It was this that appeared as something curious in the eyes of heathendom: a religion without idols. Even Juvenal still refers thereto, saying:

"Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant."
(Nothing but clouds and a God of heaven they worship.)

"There is no image in the Temple of the Jews!" thus Tacitus scornfully exclaims,—a curious relig-



ion without images! And this even was its very substance; the conviction of the All-comprising One—"the whole earth is full of His glory." And this Unity, this idea of the All-comprising One, is naturally followed by that of *Almightiness.* Should there be anything impossible for God? "Is God's hand perchance waxed short?" Thus also the pages of Judaism are filled with the doctrine of *Supreme Wisdom*, of that wisdom which penetrates and searches everything; of the eyes of God that see through everything, not merely beholding the outward appearance, but looking into the heart, into the innermost parts of man. No man can fully conceive true wisdom, which is so highly elevated, which can be found only with God. Thus Job teaches, taking his beautiful simile from the science of mining: "Here is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it, iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone. Thus man setteth an end to darkness, searcheth unto its foundation, to the stones of deep darkness. The flood breaketh forth before him, even the one running on, forgotten of the foot, removed from men. The same earth out of which cometh bread, is turned up under it as by fire. There is the place

of sapphires, the place of precious stones; there it contains dust of gold. It is a path that no bird of prey knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen. But man cutteth out rivers among the rocks, and his eye seeth every precious thing. But where shall wisdom be found? where the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, it is not found in the land of the living. The depth says, it is not in me; and the sea says, it is not in me. Destruction and death say, we have heard the fame thereof. God alone knoweth the way thereof, He knoweth the place thereof!"

A grand picture of that Wisdom which is hidden from the eyes of men, and seen through by God alone!

But all doctrines are surpassed by that of God's *Holiness*, of that purity which cannot bear the sight of evil, nor tolerate wrong. 'Of pure eyes so that He cannot behold evil, nor look on iniquity."

God is pure, holy, He alone, and no other being besides Him. In His holiness He is all-good, gracious, merciful: "God, almighty, gracious and merciful, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and in truth," this is the key-note

running through all doctrines and convictions of Judaism—He is the Loving One, who, though He awards punishment also, loveth the repentant sinner and extends His hand to him, that he may turn from his evil ways, as He rejoiceth in all His works, and accords His love to all of them.

Guilt is not fate irretrievably clinging to man: "I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he may turn from his ways and live," that he may reach the true and pure, the higher life. The certainty of His justice, of his boundless love for man, is based upon such an immovable foundation in Judaism, that even the saddest experiences cannot shake the conviction thereof; poets and prophets complain of sufferings and trials; they, too, speak of inconceivable events among mankind; they, too, cannot understand, why many fare well or ill upon earth, contrary to their practices; they, too, confess that they are unable to discover the full explanation of these enigmas—but nevertheless, far from uttering any doubt of the justice of God, their conviction is firm and unshaken, that supreme justice underlies all these things.

The relation of man to God, and of men to each other, tends towards the same ideal. Man is a

finite, limited, dependent being, is a doctrine repeatedly taught in Judaism; but the complaint thereof is by no means as predominant as in Hellenism; the truth of that doctrine is accepted with quiet resignation, and, at the same time, with the conviction of man's sublime superiority; and this conviction is everywhere proclaimed with exultation. At the very beginning it is said: "Let us make man in *our image*, after our likeness;" and this God-likeness is soon explained as referring to the spirit. "He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." It is this God-likeness that constitutes man's greatness. "Thou hast surrounded man, who is so insignificant and puny, with brilliancy," thus the Psalmist exclaims, "hast crowned him with honor and glory, hast made him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands!" Everywhere man is presented to us in this his eminence, which even invests him with the desire to develop himself, to aspire to still higher eminence; for man has the faculty of higher development: "Yes, there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding."

Reason being a ray from Divine Reason, ennobles man, awakens within him the longing desire, more

and more to soar up to Supreme Reason. But the most essential element in him is again the consciousness of his moral power, which is innate in man, and constitutes his true nobility; which, even because it awakens his longing for perfect purity, makes him feel the more his finiteness also in this respect, makes him perceive the limits in moral life. He feels that sensuality accompanies him from his infancy, that it is part of his nature, so that a conflict is caused between his sensuality and his spiritual ideals: "the desire of man's heart is evil from his youth;" this sentence expresses the incompleteness manifested also in moral life, an appetite, however, whose allurements we have the power to resist. In ancient times the question was asked, "Why does Holy Writ commence with the narration of the beginning of time, and not with the Ten Commandments? Of what use is the knowledge of all that preceded these?" The reply to this question runs as follows: "God proclaimed to His people the power of His works, and though the first page contains no precepts, yet it suggests considerations replete with religious elements." The question was asked from a narrow, literal point of view; and when *we* read the beginning of the Bible, we discover a profound

meaning in the simple and popular narrative, which even this day not alone fascinates us, but suggests material for reflection; no sooner is the history of creation presented to our view in its harmonious order, than we behold also the conflict within man's breast. We behold man first in his innocence, but soon in his struggle with physical appetite, which, after all, is part of his nature; he must conquer it, lest he become a prey to sin. Sensual desire did not allure the first man alone, it is a component part of the nature of all men, and, indeed, so far the mother of sin, which is not an involuntary inheritance from father to son, but which is born of every individual human being. Besides, it is produced also by selfishness, by man's seclusion from his fellowmen; it is the fruit of envy, and manifests itself as discord. Man is filled with jealousy against his brother. And now we meet the great word: "Sin lurketh at the door, and unto thee is his desire, *but thou canst rule over him.*" Yes, at the very gate of the outer world, in our intercourse with it, sin lurketh; but thou art a man vested with the sublime power of the will, art a being not destined to yield to sin, for whom sin is not an unconquerable, visible foe, but a longing within, which must be

kept down by superior power. The doctrine of man's longing after self-ennoblement, of the conflict from which he can and should proceed as victor, is presented to us upon all sides. With this moral conviction, connected as it is with the consciousness of his finiteness even in this respect, he appeals to Eternal Purity and seeks its aid with loving devotion. *Love* for God is an idea which Heathenism did not know, which Judaism repeatedly teaches with such sublime simplicity, as though it were a matter of course: "Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy might." "Though my flesh, and my heart faileth, God will forever remain the rock of my heart and my portion." "It is best for me to draw near to God." "What have I in heaven? there is nothing upon earth that I desire besides Thee."

These are exclamations such as we may find them in large numbers. The full devotion, the intensity of feeling wherewith moral man attaches himself to the Highest Moral Purity, to God's holiness, the expression of such a sublime relation with the Most High Being determines also the relation of men between each other, produces the

loving attachment of men to each other: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is, likewise, an admonition which, being one well understood, is not at all particularly emphasized, it bears its own emphasis within itself, because it runs through the whole law, whose every provision breathes love. Mark that noble flower of morality, as it may be found only in the Code of Jewish laws: "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor in judgment." That the person of the rich and mighty should not be respected, is, of course, also commanded; such an admonition appears natural, when we consider how easily a man may be tempted to favor the rich man, on account of the benefits which his good will may afford, to violate justice before the mighty on account of their power. But Judaism pre-supposes also our sympathy, our commiseration with misfortune as such a profound motive power, that it apprehends, we might violate justice in favor of the poor, we might assist him even because he is poor, notwithstanding his cause be unjust. Beware also of such an act! It is true, sympathy and commiseration are emotions which thou shouldst indulge in, but even these noble feelings must be silent before justice. This scrip-

tural command exhibits such a grand, such a sublime conception of morality, that it fills us with true reverence.

It is also in the very nature of this Religion to offer, as Religion, its blessings unto all. It is an exalting strain resounding from the pages of all prophets and bards, that the acknowledgment of God shall spread all over the world; they do not speak of a limited commonwealth or race, no! the whole mankind shall participate in those blessings, because God is the Sole Father of all men, because love turns towards all men to quicken and consecrate them: "On some future day God shall be King of the whole earth, on that day He shall be One, and His name One." "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." A time shall come, when the whole nature shall be transformed, when the wild beasts will cast off their cruelty, "and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the adder, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the basilisk's den; they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea."

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Yes, Religion shall be a light unto all: "My house shall be a house of prayer unto all nations." At the consecration of the Temple, Solomon prays also for the stranger that cometh out of a far country: "hear Thou him, O God, in heaven Thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to Thee for." This is a sublime glance beyond one's self, beyond one's own narrow circle, an aspiration proving that the idea in Judaism is mightier than the vessel in which it was at first contained; it appears as though the words of the ancient teacher were proclaimed all over the earth: " "Break the vessel and preserve its precious contents," the contents that cannot be enclosed by a visible, tangible vessel.

In this wise Judaism presents itself to us, and its very simplicity and originality prove its inexhaustible glory. Even these rough outlines show with what different doctrines this Religion entered the world, what peculiarity of its own, unlike all other Religions, it presented in ancient times. Besides, it must be considered, that the people, to which this Religion belonged, did not exhibit a fully established, a well ordered system of thought; did not distinguish itself by works of other sciences, or of art; but yet produced from itself, as though

it had been prompted by some inner power, such conceptions. How did it happen that such a people which was surrounded by so many mightier nations; which was not permitted to have an unobstructed view of the great events in the world; which had to pass through many struggles for its bare existence; which was confined within a limited territory, and had to employ all its resources to defend itself against its mighty enemies—how did it happen, that that people rose to such sublime conceptions? It is an enigma in the world's history! Who can fully solve this enigma?

LECTURE III.

REVELATION.

THERE are facts of such an overwhelming power that even the most stubborn opinion must yield to it. Such a fact is the appearance of Judaism in the midst of wild surroundings, springing up as a vigorous root from a barren soil. We have essayed to draw, in a few short outlines, a comparison between the convictions, presentiments and assertions, which predominated in Antiquity in general, and those presented by Judaism; even this incomplete outline must convince the unprejudiced mind, that a native energy enlists our attention which has preserved its significance for all times, which has proven to be a creative power. Let us for a few moments more dwell upon the chosen depositaries, upon the agents of that Religious Idea, upon the *Prophets*. In them we perceive characters of quiet greatness, of simple sublimity;

of fire, and, at the same time, of moderation; of boldness, and, at the same time, of humble submission; traits that impose, and make us feel the very inspiration of a higher spirit. Not two prophets speak and act alike; even our ancient teachers observe: "Not two prophets prophesy in the same strain and expression," each of them is a completely finished man, each a peculiar character of his own, and yet all of them of the same nature, borne up by one great idea. *Isaiah*, bold, noble, severely serious, and yet lovingly indulging in the most joyful and glorious hopes, full of the most cheerful confidence; hence, hurrying from gloomy predictions and threats of severe chastisement, to a description of a most brilliant future. *Jeremiah*, tender-hearted, casting his sad looks into the confusion and desperation of his time, hence, also complaining, and reproving his cotemporaries with bitter severity; and yet, never despairing, ever full of the conviction that the idea which he proclaimed must prevail, if not in the present, at least in the future. *Ezekiel*, as though overpowered by the idea that animates him, as though dazzled by the light that surrounds him, indulges in bold imageries by which he may express his visions, by which he may

represent the glory which surrounds him; and yet endowed with the fullest and clearest conception whenever precepts of morality are to be impressed upon his people with complete distinctiveness; and withal, endowed with that clear comprehensive vision which penetrates the very heart of man, and points out his faults and virtues. Our ancient teachers beautifully describe this difference: "Isaiah appears as a man who, living in a royal residence, acquainted with the manners and the pomp of a court, with the divine household, speaks only in general terms of its sublime brilliancy, and himself standing upon a high eminence, draws the sublime up to his own height; whereas Ezekiel appears like a villager, who is of a sudden introduced into brilliant city life, and in his excitement, does not know where to stop in his flowery picture of the details as well as the ensemble of that life." It is true, they all differ from each other; but all are devoted to one great idea, all are borne up by the same higher spirit.

They love their country with profound intensity; their speeches, their admonitions are addressed to their people at different times, to uplift them, to strengthen and encourage them, to support and elevate their country and national

life; they love their country, take profound pleasure to describe it as a land flowing with milk and honey, in which a man may "eat bread without scarceness," "whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass"; with gladness they describe it as a land which has been favored by God with the most various blessings, but its most essential virtue remains this: "For from Zion goeth forth the Law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." "Mountains round about Jerusalem, but God round about His people!"

And with *naiveté* and affection the relation between this land and Egypt is described thus: "The land, whither thou goest in to possess it is not like the land of Egypt from whence you came out; there ye sowed seed and watered it with your own labor, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which God forever careth for: His eyes are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year." Egypt, it is true, is a garden of God in the eyes of the Israelites, a land which carries its waters everywhere, in consequence of the annual overflowing of the Nile, and by means of canals;

which may be cultivated with the sure hope of success; which exhibits, with rare exceptions, its fertility from year to year, and offers its rich treasures in great abundance; but, nevertheless, Palestine is prized higher: a land of valleys and mountains, needing rains, depending upon Nature's phenomena, so that the eye of God must be upon it from the beginning of the year to the end thereof: herein consists the virtue and the glory of the country.

Yes, it is this land which they glorify as an especially favored and gifted one; and even when it is vanished from before them, when it has been taken from them, their strength is not broken—they are not bound up with its soil; their love for their earthly country rests upon their love for a higher one, from which a ray descends upon the former. The poet, after bewailing the destruction of the city, the banishment of its inhabitants, after having indulged in lamentations, exclaims: "Thou, O God, remainest forever, Thy throne, from generation to generation,"—thus expressing a thought which runs through thousands of years, though Israel's nationality existed no more. Can it, then, be wondered at, that such a confidence exercised its powerful influence upon later gene-

rations? You hear the same word again several centuries later. Jewish nationality was destroyed for the second time; every hope blasted; the last flickering light, kindled by Benkoziba, was extinguished, and Roman oppression lay heavy upon the Jewish people. Once, Rabbi Akiba visited Jerusalem with his friends, when they saw a jackal spring from the spot, where once the Holiest of Holies had stood. The friends of Akiba wept, rent their clothes, yet Akiba remained quiet, almost cheerful. "Pray," his friends asked him, "since when art thou so indifferent at the misfortune of our people? Dost thou not perceive the second fulfillment of the words, 'Yea, for this do we weep, because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, jackals walk about upon it?'" "Well, my friends," replied Akiba, "indeed! those words have again been verified, but also the following will become true. 'Thou, O God, remainest forever, Thy throne from generation unto generation!' I live in quiet, silent hope."

That the prophets sacrificed their own selves when their commonwealth demanded their devotion; that they labored with all unselfishness, regardless of appreciation and glory; that they

never sounded their own praise, is attested by every word they uttered. It appears as though the words spoken by one of them were uttered by all, saying: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair, I hid not my face from shame and spitting, for God, the Lord, will help me; therefore, shall I not be confounded, therefore, have I set my face like a flint, I know I shall not be ashamed."

And though they were made to hear cries, such as these: "Let us alone with your sanctification, prophecy to us of wine and of intoxicating drinks," "foolish is the prophet, the man of the spirit raveth," they yielded not, they defiled not their lips, they kept not silent; "God, the Lord, speaketh, who should, then, not prophecy?" It was a higher power that inspired them, that would not suffer them to be silent, to grow weary in their preaching; it was a moral and spiritual elevation that raised them upon an eminence to which we, of a later day, must ever look up.

Thus, then, Judaism is a grand phenomenon in Antiquity; thus, then, its depositaries and preachers are men of such a dignity and spiritual greatness, that we must pay them the tribute of our admiration. They presented themselves without

being encouraged, without having patterns before them; on the contrary, surrounded by nations that might have discouraged them, that were addicted to idolatry, did homage to sensuality, degraded human nature. Whence, then, came that power presenting itself as one original, indigenous? We have arrived here at the consideration of the very depth of the human soul, which we cannot ignore, of a native power which creates from itself without being impelled thereto by any external force.

We discriminate, in general, a twofold intellectual nature in man, a twofold distinguishing endowment,—we discriminate *Talent* and *Genius*; they touch upon each other, it is true, in many ways, so that a distinct line of demarkation cannot be drawn between them; yet, they preserve each its own distinct peculiarity; they do not diverge from each other only gradually, but diff[illegible] their whole nature, in their very foundation. Talent is the native power by which we are enabled easily and quickly to receive, to digest, and then skillfully and ably to reproduce; but Talent is dependent upon that which exists already, upon prior results that are presented to us, upon treasures already acquired,—it creates nothing new. It

is otherwise with Genius. It is independent, it creates, it discovers truths heretofore hidden, it discloses laws heretofore unknown; it is as though the laws that work in the depth of nature revealed themselves to it, in higher clearness, in their connection and legitimate co-operation, as though they presented themselves to it, to be grasped by it; as though the spiritual movements in individuals, as well as in the whole of mankind, unveiled themselves before it, that it may behold the deepmost foundation of the soul and be able to disengage, as it were, the motives and impulses there hidden away. Talent may be practiced, it may even be acquired by laborious application; Genius is a liberal gift, is a gift of grace, an impress of consecration stamped upon man, which can never be acquired, if it be not in man. Talent, therefore, cannot overcome impediments and obstacles if they present themselves with overwhelming force, nor can it thrive under unfavorable circumstances; on the other hand, Genius conquers the severest reverses, it opens its way, it must expand its force, for it is a living impulse, a power which is stronger than its possessor; it is linked with the power spread in nature, which concentrates itself in him, descending into him with the Spirit of all

spirits, who reveals Himself to it in higher illumination. Talent propagates the knowledge which it has stored up, perfects it also now and then, turns it into a common benefit for all; Genius enriches humanity with new truths and perceptions, it has given and still gives the impulse to all the great events in the world.

Columbus on discovering the New World was not specially prepared for it, not fitted thereto by higher geographical knowledge, by better experiences gained in his voyages; nor could these justify his conclusion, that there must be a new continent in existence. It was the light of Genius that opened to him, as it were, the surface of the earth; he was favored with the capacity of penetrating into the nature of the earth, so that he could feel, there must yet be such a world; and thus his imperfect knowledge turned within him into a profound living conviction, whose truths he made every effort to prove. *Copernicus* was not, as it may be supposed, the greatest astronomer of his time; others may have made more correct calculations, may have far surpassed him otherwise; but it was as though the whole working of the natural forces that attract each other, as though the whole movement of the world had been revealed to his

vision; as though the veil which dark tradition had thickened, had been drawn off from before him; as though he had looked with bold eye into the course of the Universe, and kept fast whatever he had discovered as an easily understood truth, which he afterwards essayed to substantiate—it is true, not satisfactorily, because it had to be proven with greater assurance, it had to be substantiated with greater accuracy than he was able to do, and yet, he did it with the most profound knowledge.

Newton is said to have been induced to establish the law of gravitation by the fall of an apple which he observed while seated under an apple tree. Many before him had observed the fall of an apple, but not with the eye of Genius; for this beholds in every single phenomenon the great, comprehensive law which gives birth to that phenomenon; through the channel of this visible phenomenon, it penetrates into the invisible working from which everything proceeds.

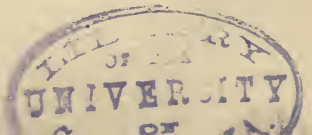
We could multiply these instances by others from other sciences. It is not the profundity, thoroughness of research, the knowledge of abundant details that makes the historian, in the sublime acceptation of the term; he is often compelled to reject a mass of material lest he be perplexed,

crushed by the heaps of detail; but it is this which constitutes his especial distinction, that his eye is sharper to penetrate the character of the time, that the whole wheelwork of ideas that move the very depth of the time is fully open to his vision. It is as though the time as a whole, with its deepest foundation unclosed, stood before his mental vision, as though he had discovered the most secret intentions of its chief actors. It is only thus that even that which was known before receives its proper place, because the connection between events and persons has become fully clear. You may perchance call this acumen, a happy gift of combination; well, when the acute thinker does not run into error, when combination succeeds properly to connect the different parts, then it is the work of Genius. And what is it that enables the poet to look into the depths of the soul, that he may most clearly know the temperament, the desires, the passions, as though the chambers of the heart were fully open for him? What enables him to perceive and exhibit all complications and intrigues in the different relations and circumstances, however much they may be entangled and unintelligible to the common eye, and to fathom and picture a character in its unity? Is it a richer store

of observations that assists him? Is it because he has experienced all these things in his own life? Certainly not! It is his eye that more surely and sharply receives the picture of the whole life of the human soul from the individual phenomenon, and understands how to describe it. Yea, it is only Genius that enables individuals deeply to penetrate into the movements of the spirit, and to set them forward for centuries to come;—and as it thus favors individuals, so it favors also whole nations.

The Greeks boast of being Autochtons, of having been born upon, and from their own soil; whether this claim be justified, we will not now examine; but another claim, no doubt expressing the profound meaning of the above, must be admitted; to wit: the autochtonic character of their mind, the aboriginal nature of their national talent. The Greeks had no teachers or patterns in Art and Science, they were their own teachers and masters,—they speedily appeared with such perfect accomplishment, as makes them the teachers of mankind for all times.

It is as though a higher, more vivid taste for the Beautiful, the Harmonious, the Symmetrical and the Pleasing had been innate in the



Greek nation,—we observe a National Genius that enabled it to produce masters in every art and science. Therefore, even later centuries willingly listened to the words of this nation, hastened thither where they could see the works of the plastic arts, where they could enjoy, as it were, a rejuvenating bath in the spiritual fountain that springs thence and carries its waters through the streams of centuries. Is not the Jewish people, likewise, endowed with such a Genius, with a Religious Genius? Is it not, likewise, an aboriginal power that illumined its eyes, so that it could penetrate the higher life of the spirit, understand more vividly, and feel more intensely the close relation between the spirit of man and the Supreme Spirit, would more distinctly and clearly behold the innermost nature of Human Morality, and then present the result to the world as its native-born knowledge. If this be so, we may speak of a close contact between the individual spirit and the Supreme Spirit, of an illumination of individual spirits by the Power that fills everything, so that they could break through their confining limits: it is—let us not hesitate to pronounce the word—*Revelation*, and this, too, as it was manifested in the whole people.

The Greeks also were not all artists, were not all Phidias' or Praxiteles', but the Greek nation was alone capable of producing such great masters. The same was the case with Judaism. It is certain that not all Jews were prophets; the exclamation, "Would that all the people were prophets!" was a pious wish; the other, "I shall pour my Spirit upon all flesh," is a promise which has never been realized. Nevertheless, Israel is the people of Revelation, the favored organs of which came from that people; it is as though the rays of light had been dispersed, and were concentrated into a flame by those gifted with higher endowments. A thornbush produces no vine, a neglected people produces no prophets, such as the people of Judah gave to the world. It is true, the historical Books of the Bible mostly inveigh against the morals, the depravity of the people at the time of the Kings; they intend to prepare us for the devastation that came upon them as a punishment for their sinfulness. Yet, that people must have possessed noble powers in great abundance; it must have had a native endowment, considering that it could produce, that it could rear such men. Judaism was not merely a preacher in the wilderness, and though it did not prevail

altogether, it was nevertheless a power which existed, it is true, in many men in a small degree, yet in such a measure, that it could produce—being concentrated in individuals—such heroes of the spirit. Nor does Judaism claim to be the work of single individuals, but that of the whole people. It does not speak of the God of Moses, or of the God of the Prophets, but of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of the God of the whole race, of the patriarchs who were equally gifted with that endowment, with that prophetic vision; it is the Revelation which lay dormant in the whole people, and was concentrated in individuals. The fact that the greatest prophet left his work unfinished contains a profound truth: he must not be regarded as the Atlas who bears the whole world upon his shoulders, who completes a work without the co-operation of others, who gives the impulse thereto and, at the same time, finishes it. It is not known where he is buried, and our ancient teachers remark: "His grave should not serve for a place of pilgrimage whither men go to do honor to *one*, and thus raise him above the level of man." Moses did his share of the work according to his great capacity as one of the whole people.

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Yes, Judaism has grown from the people of Revelation. And why, then, should we not employ the term where we touch the fundamental source ; the illumination which proceeds from the Higher Spirit, which cannot be explained, which is not a composition created by a process of development, but which all at once presents itself as a whole, like every new creation proceeding from the Original Spirit. We will not narrow down the term within certain limits in the manner of dogmatical theory ; it may be understood in different ways, but as to its essence, it is ever the same ; it indicates the point of contact between human reason with the Fundamental Source of all things. The ancient Teachers of Judaism never denied that this sublime phenomenon was, after all, connected with some human quality. "The spirit of God," they say, "rests only upon a wise man, upon a man possessed of moral power, who is independent because he is contented, having conquered all ambition, all desire ;" a man who bears his importance within him, who feels the Divine in him, is alone capable to receive the Divine ; he is not a mere speaking trumpet through which words uttered pass without his being conscious thereof ; no, a man in the true

meaning of the term, touching upon the Divine and, therefore, susceptible of it. A man of the Middle Ages, alike a profound thinker and true poet, Jehuda ha-Levi, emphatically maintains, that Revelation animated the whole people. "Israel," he says, "is the heart of mankind, which in its unity ever preserved its higher susceptibility, and the several distinguished men were the hearts of that heart." Maimonides speaks of "a lightning-like illumination as which Revelation must be regarded; to some, this illumination was granted only for a short time; for others, it was repeated; but with Moses, it was a lasting one; an illumination which lightens the darknesses, affording man an insight into all that is hidden, that discloses to him what remains concealed for others." Judaism is such a Religion of Revelation, has grown from such visions of the Divine, and has connected into a whole all that it did behold; Judaism is a Religion of truth, because the view into the nature of things is infallible, discovering as it does the Unchangeable and Everlasting: This is its everlasting essence.

LECTURE IV.

NATIONALITY.—SLAVERY.—WOMAN'S POSITION.

EVERY new birth is attended with pain, every new Idea which enters upon the spiritual world to produce new creations, to reform the world, is met by a heavy, obstinate struggle on the part of all those spiritual powers which insist upon their right of custom, and feel that they are threatened with destruction by a greater power; they contend against it with all the bluntness and rudeness of inert possession, with all the violent arrogance of spiritual shallowness which is easily excited to bitter harshness. An Idea which strives to create a new spiritual life, intends, it is true, to fight with spiritual weapons; it bears within itself the guarantee of certain victory, it is endowed with something imperishable which is equal to all difficulties, which can defy all obstacles; but,

though it enters the world light-winged, it will be compelled by the protracted contest to invest itself with coarser, material arms and equipment, lest it be crushed at the very outset. The young David enters upon the glorious contest—he proceeds also from it victorious; Saul on hearing of his bold resolution, put his armor upon him, placed a helmet of brass upon his head, and armed him with a coat of mail. David tried to go, but he takes them off again, saying: "I cannot go with these, for I am not accustomed to them." He enters upon the contest with Goliath, armed only with his shepherd's staff, and smooth stones,—and conquers. It is the confidence of the bold youth that shuns all constraint, and cannot bear to be fettered; it is the assurance of victory that is manifested in the shepherd boy, whose mind has been matured and fortified in free nature. But do you suppose that David, after having been initiated into life's serious struggles, would then also refuse armor and helmet? As he became more deeply engaged in life's struggles, he was compelled to adopt also life's usages, though filled with the bold spirit of youth. And the same is the case with an Idea when it intends to assume real life; though it be conscious of its spiritual vitality, it must carry

arms and accept the bloody contest offered to it upon all sides.

The doctrine of Revelation in Judaism has not been spared its struggles. Individual man gains strength by struggle, he even stands in need of it; now and then it will cover him with dust. Judaism also stood in need of such struggle before the world, but even in consequence thereof, dust of the earth settled around it to some degree. A puny race of nomads just emerged from a great empire addicted to idolatry, proceeded to meet the whole world entertaining different views. It must needs keep closely together, lest it might be crushed beneath the weight of the outer world; with the Divine Spirit that had been fanned into life within it, it intended to proclaim a new belief to preserve it, and accomplished its victory for the whole world. A beautiful, great, sublime, but no less difficult task! Every contact with the outer world was a snare, every word exchanged with a person outside of its own pale, contained a temptation; every friendly meeting, every meal taken with him was profanation, because it was dedicated to his idols. Thus every closer association was a sin—a struggle offered to them from without. And could it be avoided that many among

Israel greedily looked towards the brilliant pomp that surrounded them everywhere? It is true, there lived in the whole people a spirit to fortify and express the new ideas through corresponding forms: that spirit did not animate individuals, privileged champions exclusively, but the whole people, though in a weaker and lesser degree; but should there not have been also many who suffered themselves to be seduced by the alluring pomp, by the superior power that bribed them? The history of Israel extending over the whole period of the First Temple, that is to say, of the very establishment of their belief, affords us innumerable instances of apostacy, of energetic struggles which the truly enthusiastic, the great men, were compelled to carry on against their depraved brethren.

The more aberrations multiplied in Israel, the more the danger increased, that the worm of corruption might gnaw even upon the very healthful stem, the more must the glowing zeal of the better-minded increase to keep that danger far off; they were compelled to contend against the inroads of the evil with all possible determination, with a fire of energy that would not only produce warmth, but even consume the evil itself. Should

we then be astonished that, under such circumstances, now and then some harsh, severe expressions against other nations are employed,—that implacable opposition to them is preached and practiced? Should we marvel, considering that it was not a piece of territory, or some earthly inheritance that was at stake, but that an Idea was to be defended, which they revered as their highest treasure, which elevated them above the nations, which was destined to be diffused all over the earth by the people chosen for that purpose: should we marvel, when we observe the fire of enthusiasm burning within them in mighty flames, and filling them with glowing heat, so that they now and then uttered sentiments which did not always express the purest benevolence, the most friendly consideration for those that designed to deprive them of their costliest treasure by their allurements?

We fail to transpose ourselves into that time and those circumstances, when we allow ourselves to be guided by the idea of tender-hearted toleration appropriate at an age of mutual recognition and appreciation, in our estimation of a time in which antagonistic convictions were engaged in a struggle of life and death; when we judge every

harsh word with aristocratic indifference, talk of hostile nationality and national pride which, indeed, were at that time regarded as less valuable treasures, whereas nothing exclusively national was at stake, but the freedom of the spirit, the safety of the very foundation of truth, and all corrupting influences must needs be neutralized. No! we must not wonder, that we meet with many a severe expression, with many a harsh precept; on the contrary, it must ever be a very remarkable proof of the truly spiritual vigor with which the people were endowed, that, notwithstanding those struggles, Israel never forgot to hold all mankind in his embrace, and to labor for it; that, notwithstanding those hostile conflicts which could not be but mutual, they were ever guided by the truth: that their Religion came into existence for the whole world, the whole earth must be comprised within its fold. It affords a testimony of the profound spiritual life of Judaism, that the purity and clearness of that view were never dimmed. Thus we feel quickened when, despite all expressions prompted by the heat of the conflict, we can again breathe the pure air as it flows from the words of the prophets, saying: "Let not the son of the stranger, that hath joined himself to God,

speak, saying, God hath utterly separated me from His people: neither let the eunuch say (the eunuchs of the Persian court are here referred to) 'Behold, I am a dry tree.' For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my festivals, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant; even unto them I will give in my house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters, an everlasting name, that shall not perish. And the sons of the stranger that join themselves unto God, to serve Him and to love His name, that keep the Sabbath from polluting it, and take hold of my covenant: even them I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer, their burnt offerings and their sacrifices acceptable upon mine altar, for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all people." "It is not sufficient," thus we read elsewhere, "that thou alone shouldst be my servant: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles." And again we read: "And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites." Mankind is destined to be encircled by the *one* truth.

It is a folly to assert that Judaism teaches the doctrine of a national God, a God belonging ex-

clusively to the Jews. Such an assertion in the very face of oft-repeated proclamations, prognosticating a future when God will be One, and His name One, is truly childish. May be, that now and then an expression is found apparently attributing some importance to idols, such as, "Greater is our Lord than all gods," and others like it; but how does the prophet so often characterize them? "One breath and there is nothing good in them." And with what irony does he show how the gods are made, how the workmen work with their hammers and assist each other, and how one portion of the materials is used to prepare food with it, while the other is employed to fashion a god from it! How can a national God here be spoken of. Yes, a God is spoken of who was first acknowledged among that nation, nay! was acknowledged by that nation alone; but who is the God of the whole world, the God who fills all time and space, the God who shall be acknowledged by all nations. We perceive here a struggle in which, it is true, many expressions must be employed that do not correspond with its spiritual sublimity, but lucid clearness gradually gains the ascendency. We behold the ancient Jacob as he must struggle surrounded by mighty

darkness, and a man is covered with dust together with him; the hollow of his thigh gets out of joint, but nevertheless, he prevails—he prevails both physically and spiritually, and becomes a blessing for all mankind.

But Judaism was destined not alone to introduce a new idea concerning God into the world, but also to dignify and ennoble all human relations. The men who taught in ancient time, "The true foundation and nerve of the Law is, whatever displeases thee do not unto others; this is the essence and root of the Law, all the rest is commentary, go and learn"; or, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; this is the great cardinal principle of the Law"; or, "This is the Book of the generations of man," is a still greater principle, conveying, as it does, the lesson, to be man, to recognize under all circumstances all men as our peers — the Hillels, Akibas, Ben Somas, who taught such lessons, are the great props and pillars of Judaism, and we must well take to heart their words. Judaism, I repeat, did not enter into this world to present it with a new idea concerning God, but to purify all human relations as well as the knowledge and appreciation of man. But even with regard to the relation between man and

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man, the idea must now and then contract itself, as it were, must accommodate itself to the various conditions, if it should at all succeed. An individual, also, however distinguished he may be, will labor without effect, as long as he keeps himself aloof from his fellows by his eminence, as long as he does not participate in their aspirations; his fellowmen may, it is true, look up to him with reverence, but they will not be influenced by him; if a man desires to see his work crowned with success, he must enter into the existing conditions,—there must be mutual accommodation. As far as the Idea relating to God Himself is concerned, there is no compromise, no accommodation, there can be no mediation between the Pure Spirit, and Corporeality; concerning the Highest, Judaism could not be indulgent, all opposition must be contended against with unswerving determination. It is otherwise as regards the relations among men;—here the Idea may, must perform its work of purification and sanctification by a gradual process. until the hard shell goes to pieces and falls off by itself.

The nations of Antiquity could hardly believe themselves capable of existence unless *Slavery*

was established among them as an inalienable right. A free citizen should do no labor, slaves must do it; the slave was the property of his master, a sort of merchandize, a chattel, completely subject to the will of his master. Judaism presents itself with the doctrine, that every man was destined to labor; it is true, God places the first man in the paradise, the garden of Eden, but also to work there and to guard it. Yet, man soon enters into more prosaic relations and is told: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread." But all men are created in the image of God, not the progenitor of one nation or another exclusively, but the progenitor of all, and from him the whole human race have descended *vested with equal rights.* Of course, the complete abolition, the annihilation of slavery by Judaism, at its very entrance upon the stage of History, would have been in direct conflict with nature and the historical development of human relations; it would have proved an undertaking without the desired salutary results, both for the people and mankind, in general, which may be educated, but not reformed with one stroke. Hence, slavery was not entirely abolished, but it really existed only in name without its true substance; the new wine

poured into the old vessel must burst it. Among the race, the people itself, real slavery was out of question; for the slave served only six years, or became free even sooner, when the year of jubilee arrived; then he returned into his ancient civil relations, fully equal in birth and rights with his brethren. And how were heathen slaves—heathen slavery was tolerated—treated? The smallest maiming of a slave, smiting out his tooth, was not regarded only as an injury done by the owner to himself, or to his property, no! the slave was free. And the killing a slave was visited upon his master; and what a beautiful precept removing the very sting of slavery is this: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the slave that is escaped from him unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, in one of thy cities which he may choose. Do not deceive him!"

With these words a question was settled thousands of years ago, that in our day marks its bloody traces upon a whole continent, and rends it to pieces; and yet, the inhabitants of that country are professors of the dominant religion, one part of whom cleave to that faith which claims to be the sole, exclusively saving Church, and the other, to the forms of tenacious puritanism,

with the missionary lust of making proselytes. The struggle which has burst forth has nothing whatever to do with the nature of slavery, whether or not it should be permitted to exist; it is true, one section has repudiated it for itself, but has hitherto found it altogether right to preserve it as a constitutional institution in the other. The whole question is narrowed down to this: whether a slave who has fled into the free States, must be delivered to his master, whether it was not theft to allow him to remain away from his master; whether, in that case, rights are not violated, the very idea of justice shaken. This question of a punctilious conscientiousness that has nothing to do with Religion, was settled by Judaism three thousand years ago; and when Judaism shall have prevailed, when its spirit shall animate all men, when the spirit proceeding from it shall have spread everywhere, full and genuine, then that question will be solved; truth and real right, humanity and the recognition of the human dignity of every one will then prevail over that sham justice whose boasts are the more insolent the shallower it is itself.

The regard in which domestic life is held by a

nation, is of still higher moment. That the sanctity of matrimonial life is so little emphasized, that so little stress is laid upon domestic affections among the Greeks, throws a shadow upon that brilliant and accomplished nation; the worth of woman has not received that distinguished regard at the hand of Hellenism, which her true character justly claims. How different is it in Judaism! At the very beginning we find the idea expressed, "Man leaves his father and his mother, and unites himself with his wife, and they become one flesh,"—an *essential unity.* The reverence due to parents, however deeply rooted, however fervently nurtured and cultivated, is secondary to the ardent attachment that should bind man and wife together. The wife shall follow her husband: "To thy husband shall be thy desire, and he shall rule over thee;" nevertheless, she shall be his equal in all respects; he unites himself to his wife, and they become *one* being.

And what noble pictures of woman do we find throughout the Jewish Literature! What a noble relationship in the families,—simple, unpretending, yet how sublime and heart-quickening! The wives of the patriarchs occupy almost the same position with their husbands; later generations

regard them both alike. And what a picture of life is presented to us when, for instance, we contemplate *Rebekah* as at first she appears in the unrestraint of maiden innocence, friendly and kind-hearted toward the stranger, readily complying with his request to give him water to drink, and caring even for his camels! She enters with him into the house of her beloved ones, and behold! he has been sent hither by their highly-respected relative in a distant land to woo the maiden. Rebekah is asked—free choice is left her—: "Wilt thou go with this man?" And she feels drawn away,—her heart tells her, that yonder is the place where her happiness lies,—and she replies: "I will go." She starts upon her journey; with maiden-like innocence, she casts her eyes all about; all at once she observes the man to whom she is destined to be a companion for life, and she asks: "What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us?" The servant replies: "It is the son of my master, Isaac, the man who shall be thy consort for life." The crimson hues of modesty now mantle her face, and she covers herself with a veil. "He brought her into his mother's tent—and he loved her." Jacob takes his wife *Rachel* home, for he loves her, he had served for

her, and the seven years of his service "seemed unto him but a few days." We proceed further; we read the history of the great Liberator; his youth is beset by great dangers. Moses beheld the light for the first time, while threatening clouds hovered above Israel. They put him in an ark and lay it in the flags by the river's brink; his sister, *Miriam*, cannot endure remaining at home; she hurries to the neighborhood of the river, "to witness what would be done to her brother." The King's daughter comes down to bathe, she observes the ark, opens it, and sees the child. The girl, otherwise timid and embarrassed, boldly steps up and asks: "Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women?" We do not wonder that Miriam, who, while young, exhibited such devoted courage, afterwards appeared as prophetess; and our ancient Teachers say of her, indeed! beautifully: "Miriam was for Israel a fresh fountain whence refreshing waters poured forth,"—she united glowing enthusiasm for truth with the devotion of a woman's heart. And, again, our ancient Teachers utter the following profound sentence: "Through the merits of their women, the Israelites were delivered from Egypt." The men were given up to oppression, they were

forced to perform heavy work; who guarded their homes, who attended to the morals of their children, who watched over the fire of chastity? It was the mothers in Israel who did all these things, and it was their work that Israel was made worthy of their deliverance from the dangers that surrounded them. We proceed still further, we enter upon the period which appears to be a dark, confused, heroic age, upon the time of the Judges, when the Commonwealth was dissolving, and, to all appearances, going to pieces. Here and there, a Judge appeared; now and then, a small light was kindled; and again a beautiful form presents itself, *Deborah*, the Prophetess and Judge, a gallant and bold woman, an inspired leader, and yet fully conscious of her womanhood. She does not desire to go to war, amazon-like, saying to Barak: "It will not be unto thy honor that thou shalt gain the victory through the hand of a woman." But as he would not go into battle without her, she consented to go with him, and gains the victory; and afterwards she proclaims the victory in an inspired song, chastising and praising like a true prophetess of God. And at a later time, when that gloomy period had passed and greater tranquillity seemed to approach, at the very thres-

hold of this new epoch, we meet again with a woman whom we contemplate with deep reverence: it is *Hannah*, the mother of Samuel. With all the yearning of woman she laments that children are denied her, and fervently, and from the depth of her heart, she prays to her God: "For I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit." And Elkanah, her husband, comforts her, saying: "Hannah, why weepest thou? and why is thy heart grieved? am I not better to thee than ten sons?" What profound affection do these few words express! . . . And now behold *Ruth*,—what a lovely picture! A Judean had emigrated into a foreign land; his two sons married; but the Judean dies, his sons also die without leaving children. Their mother, Naomi, returns to her country, and her younger daughter-in-law,—the other, Orpah, is too much of a Moabite to go with her, she leaves her at the moment of her departure,—Ruth goes with Naomi, saying: "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God;" and she follows her as an obedient child, remains her daughter, lovingly cares for her in her old age, is her devoted companion:—

is she not worthy to be the ancestress of David?

All this is narrated with childlike simplicity, without all embellishing pomp, because it is deep-rooted in the very nature of Israel; but it *must* come to the surface, yet often it is related merely as an insignificant corrollary trait. Can you, then, wonder, that among this people—a rare example in Antiquity—woman was not treated with disregard; can we wonder that the scanty literature of this people, the whole of which is exclusively devoted to Religion and History, nevertheless contains a little book which is designated as the Song of Love? At a time when oppression weighed from without, when not the consecration of the senses, but their suppression, when not the glorification of natural life, but the deadening thereof was regarded as piety, it was impossible to conceive that that little book, taken in its natural meaning, was intended to celebrate sublime pure love. Suppose even, that it contains also a so-called deeper meaning, this much is at all events certain: a picture also must be true if it should reflect a higher relationship. However, as a recent ingenious scholar observes—when the poet sang, the language had not yet died the ago-

nising death of its holiness, then it was yet possessed of fresh vitality, then also the song that glorifieth love still flowed from the poet's breast. Hence it comes, that that little book presents many a sensual embellishment; but with what depth is the higher, noble nature of love depicted; what fervor do even these few words express: "I sleep, but my heart is awake!" Here, a world of feelings is expressed, and we may well say, without further dwelling upon the book: whoever reads it with a pure mind will find that profound emotions are therein described in noble expressions. It is but natural, that the poet, in his proverbs, indulges also, at a later period, in a consideration of a virtuous woman; and the conclusion of his lessons of wisdom is devoted to her glorification, saying: "Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above pearls." "Who can find her," does not mean that she is rare; no, he describes her as a well-known phenomenon, but he who has found her has obtained a precious treasure. And then he concludes: "Her children arise and call her blessed, her husband also, and he praiseth her. Favor is deceitful, and beauty evanescent, but a God-fearing woman, she shall be praised." Only the subtle, melancholy Koheleth who can find hard-

ly one tolerable man among thousands, cannot, naturally, find also in a thousand women any one that is not treacherous and cunning. But this is not an idea generally entertained by Judaism, although it is now and then intermingled with oriental views; the pure estimation of woman, the moral eminence of matrimonial life remains its fundamental principle.

Judaism teaches the marriage of *one* wife to *one* man, *Monogamy.* Although exceptions are now and then met with, they are explained by the fact, that the law would not directly interfere at a time when the opposite custom reigned amongst all the nations around; but monogamy alone, fervent attachment of man and wife is alone in harmony with the fundamental character of Judaism. It is, therefore, but natural that, at a later time, when external influences changed, a teacher appeared in Europe, who pronounced an anathema over every one who should violate the natural law of Judaism. And even in such countries where polygamy is the rule, Judaism has repudiated it; and though it has not prohibited it by a distinct law, custom, the living spirit which at all times ruled in Judaism, had long prohibited it

though it was permitted by law. By such fruits the essence of Judaism is made known, and thus a noble family-life has at all times been cultivated in Israel. Of course, courts of love, love's tournaments, were unknown to Judaism, just as much as it was unable to fathom the mystery of unconscious virginity coupled, nevertheless, with the feelings of a mother. Healthful and energetic, pure and fresh was the clear fountain flowing forth from their homes over all their relations in life—the pure domestic life of the Jews has at all times preserved them fresh and vigorous. Having supported them during the days of their oppression, it will not be wanting for them in better days, and the exclamation of Bileam, at the sight of the camps of Israel's tribes, will ever remain true: "How beautiful are thy tents, O Jacob, thy habitations, O Israel!"

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LECTURE V.

SACRIFICES AND PRIESTS.—DIVIDED NATIONALITY.

The conception of the Deity by a nation is also the guage for its views of morality, and vice versa. The higher or lesser moral culture of a people is an infallible index of its more or less enlightened religious convictions. As the savage individual, so also does an uncivilized people, living in a state of nature, honor only a superior force. The power which it exercises over others, or which others can enforce against it, affords the measure of the estimation which it claims, or in which it holds others. Neither justice, nor moral worth, nor purity of sentiment is of any value in its eye, but, pre-eminently and essentially, brute force, worldly power. An uneducated man, just as an uncivilized people, bows before his superior, who can make him or it feel his power; and, on the

other hand, they are rude and tyrannical towards their inferiors. A people which as yet has but a religious instinct and not worked its way towards a clear conception of Religion, which is not yet permeated by a higher idea, and recognizes in God, above all, a mighty being, fears the power over it, which can crush it; it bows before this power, just as it bows before a superior human being; but, on the other hand, its treatment of others whom it regards as its subordinates, shows what low position it occupies with regard to morality. Therefore, the very views concerning Slavery, the treatment of a weaker race, is a true guage for the high or low degree of religious conviction. Judaism is a Religion that adores God as the Holy One, as the very ideal of moral purity. This it has proven—as we intended to show by our preceding considerations—by the fact, that it invariably emphasizes moral worth also in its human relations; that it recognizes not the mighty ones as being exclusively entitled to power, but grants them their power only so far as they are rightfully and legitimately entitled thereto. Justice, the pure, moral relation between man and man, is its highest consideration, the guage

wherewith it measures the relations prescribed by it.

This difference of culture among nations pre-eminently manifests itself in their divine worship; the manner in which God is worshipped must decide, whether men have a presentiment of God only as a higher power, tremble before Him, seek to conciliate Him, or whether they worship Him as the Holy One, look up to Him as the pattern of highest morality, the purest expression of mercy and benevolence. Whoever recognizes, above all, the power of God, will seek to gain His favor; men will bow before Him, that He may not pour His wrath upon them; they will try, by some act or another, to win His good graces, to procure His kind consideration, to ward off His disfavor, by offering to Him gifts, and undergoing, at the same time, privations. This is the origin of Sacrifices. Sacrifice expresses the intention, by means of depriving one's self of something, be it even his dearest object, to soften the possible wrath of God, or at least to show Him in what deep subjection one is to Him, since every thing is offered Him as long as it is pleasing in His sight. The crudest manifestation of such a feeling

exhibited in the lowest state of religious life is *Human Sacrifice*, especially the sacrifice of those dearest and nearest to us. Rude Heathenism sacrificed children to its gods. The dearest and most priceless treasure—this is the meaning of that sacrifice—I offer unto my God, and He will be pleased therewith, since I do not hesitate, in His behalf, to deaden every feeling and emotion within me, to deprive myself, for His pleasure, of the dearest treasure I possess. It is the lowest religious sentiment that is ever expressed thereby, a complete misconception of the Divine Being, that He is to be conciliated by slavish self-degradation, by self-imposed cruelty. This low degree of Religion fears the cruel and arbitrary element of the Deity, and thus nurtures also cruelty and arbitrariness in man.

This was the Religion that surrounded Israel,—the worship of God, or Gods, among those nations that now and then ruled over Israel, but were, at all times, in such close contact with them, that their sentiments naturally became known to, and now and then exercised their influence upon the Jews. The worship of Moloch is known to have been one that demanded human sacrifices; to

burn one's own children was the terrible sacrificial service designated as the worship of God.

Judaism carried on an energetic war against this degradation of the Divine Being; for this kind of sacrifice it knows no mercy. It is true, traces of it are imprinted also upon the history of the Jews; it did influence weak minds that believed to perceive in this self-suppression of the tenderest emotions, an act of devotion to God; but with what indignation do the prophets inveigh against this most savage expression of crudest heathenism! At its very threshold, Judaism makes the Patriarch engage in this struggle in his heart, and gain a glorious victory. "*Elohim* tempted Abraham." Different names of God are employed in Holy Writ, and our ancient Teachers interpret them very ingeniously: "'Elohim' represents God as the Mighty One, the Rigorous One, who is likewise worshipped in God, as whom also the nations recognize Him in one way or another; but the other name '*He Is*'"—as we have before become acquainted with it—"the Unspeakable One, the Eternal Existence, underlying all earthly and spiritual existence, '*the God of the spirits for all flesh*', is the God of mercy, of

benevolence, of ardent love and goodness towards man." It was "*Elohim*" that tempted Abraham. The ancient idea of God, as it then predominated, was uppermost also in the mind of Abraham, the acknowledgment of that Divine Power animated him to such degree, that he was desirous to show himself as its faithful servant. "Offer thine only son, whom thou lovest!" What greater treasure hast thou acquired, whereby canst thou better manifest thy submissiveness? He is ready for the sacrifice; everything is prepared for its consummation; then a messenger of the God "*He Is*" called from heaven: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad!" The higher knowledge of God awakens in him: how, God is mighty, but is He not also all-good? God is all powerful, but is that power a tyrannical one? Does it demand of man that he should not ennoble his feelings, but that, on the contrary, he shonld deaden them? Is this worship of God,—worship of God, to mutilate myself, or to immolate the only treasure I call mine own? No! "lay not thy hand upon the lad"—this is true worship of the All-merciful One; and Abraham did not sacrifice his child. Not his readiness to offer that sacrifice constitutes the true piety of Abraham, but his *omission* thereof; not

that he blindly bowed before the Divine Power to tear his child from his heart, but that he recognized God in His sublimer and truer nature, constitutes his true, enlightened piety. Hence it is not well, invariably to point to Abraham's willingness to offer his son as an act of extreme piety—he was, and still is an example of piety, even because he omitted that sacrifice

Thus, we find at the very outset, the picture of this struggle, together with the victory of purer moral conviction, and this victory runs through the whole of Judaism. The service of Moloch is despised as an abomination which God abhors, which degrades us very deeply; and whenever a horrible place is spoken of, the valley of Hinnom is designated, the location where sacrifices were offered to Moloch. "*Ge Hinnom*," the Valley of Hinnom, Gehinnom, Gehenna, afterwards became the designation of the place where all evil is concentrated, where the severest punishment is dealt out, where damnation dwells—it is *Hell.* This Human Sacrifice was most energetically contended against in Judaism—it would allow no compromise.

But Animal Sacrifice, also, is no less a token of a low religious sentiment; Animal Sacrifice has also

for its object to win favor by giving up some property, without tending to moral reform, without furthering moral ennoblement. Nor did Animal Sacrifice spring from the soil of Judaism, it was tolerated, and only tolerated; it was continually inveighed against by Israel's best and noblest men, the Prophets, who showed up its inferiority, in the most emphatic terms. "Wherewith," thus the prophet Micah says, "wherewith shall I come before God, bow myself before the High God? shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Should I then, indeed! offer unto Him my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good and what God requireth of thee; to do justice, to love mercy and charity, and to walk humbly before, and with thy God." This is the manifesto of prophetism against Sacrifice; this manifesto is often repeated, is authenticated everywhere in the same manner, though differently worded. "To what purpose, saith the Lord, is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, I delight not in the

blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats."—"Wilt thou offer sacrifices unto me," says the Psalmist, "am I hungry? If I were hungry, need I tell thee? Is not the cattle upon a thousand hills mine? Away with sacrifice!" And Jeremiah expresses himself with dry soberness, and indeed! with an almost surprising directness: "I spake not unto your fathers, saith the Lord, nor commanded them when I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices." It cannot be expressed with greater clearness and emphasis. It cannot be denied, the institution of Sacrifices was so deeply rooted in the universal conviction, was such a corresponding expression of the popular religious sentiment of Antiquity, that it was adopted also in Israel; and as everything bodily occupies a large space, whereas the spiritual, being something incorporeal, is not visible in space, it is but natural, that the laws concerning Sacrifices occupy such an extended part of the Jewish Code; but nevertheless their tenor expresses only something tolerated. And if you wish a strong proof of this statement, examine the Repetition of the Law, in Deuteronomy, and you will see how the provisions concerning Sacrifices have dwindled down, are merely

hinted at as some custom, but are not elaborated with that extensiveness which such an important branch of divine worship, if it were a direct command, could justly claim. Sacrifice was a tolerated institution in Judaism, and how speedily also, did it vanish away. During the period of the Second Temple, numerous Houses of Prayer arose, as a victorious rival power, by the side of the Temple at Jerusalem, wherein Sacrifice was still retained, and which as a symbol of the unity of the Commonwealth preserved its significance; whereas the real Houses of Worship rose above that Temple to spiritual importance. And when the latter was destroyed, Sacrifice also was buried beneath its ruins. We have before emphasized the idea: whatever is truly rooted in a Religion, cannot be separated from it, however unpropitious the circumstances surrounding it may be; the very spirit contends against its separation and seeks its preservation; if it cannot be preserved in the ancient mode, reform is resorted to. It is as though the whole foundation would be injured; hence this dilemma presents itself: either complete dissolution, or preservation with its normal forms. When Heathenism perished in its forms, its very spiritual foundation and character fell with it. If

Sacrifices had been a necessary institution in Judaism, they would certainly have out-lived the destruction of the Temple; and indeed! attempts were made to continue them; but the very Idea was fully exhausted; Sacrifice had long lost its hold upon the hearts and minds of the people; it was a custom that had continued from generation to generation; an institution by which many a political organization had been supported, upon which the authority of many representative men rested, and which, therefore, could not have been discontinued all at once. But as soon as the storm burst upon the Commonwealth, the disrooted tree became a sport for the winds,—and Sacrifice *is* vanished from Israel, and will forever remain vanished. Every establishment of Religion upon the basis of Sacrificial Worship, of a sacrifice which has once been offered, be it human, or even divine, or animal, every longing retrospective glance at the ancient sacrifices as being a loftier and fuller manifestation of life; every assertion that sacrificial service had vanished and must, therefore, be replaced by a certain prayer: every such acknowledgment attributing spirituality to Sacrifice is a relapse into heathenism. Together with the animal which is offered up as a sacrifice

unto God, the loftier religious knowledge is immolated;—from the ashes, from the smoke of the sacrificial animal curling toward heaven, rises an idol.

Sacrificial Worship wherever it is practiced, requires also an especial method of observance, demands especial ministers for its management; there must be especially designated persons who understand how to offer sacrifices, who have prepared, purified, consecrated themselves for that purpose, in order that they may be the worthier to appear before their Gods, or God. The worship of God through Sacrifice is the mother of Priesthood; wherever there are sacrifices, there must be also priests, ministers who understand to conciliate the Gods, to approach them in an appropriate manner. But even Priesthood in its connection with Sacrifice is not a native-grown fruit of the soil of Judaism. Even at the outset, *before the Ten Proclamations had been made known, God commanded Moses to tell the people:* "All of you shall be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation! These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel." All shall be priests! The Religion of Judaism demands no mediation

through particular persons, every one shall be his own priest, his own mediator between himself and God. Priesthood, too, was merely tolerated in Judaism; and again, the whole history of Judaism contains a continual war against it. Narratives of the discontent against their Priesthood, both in the first time of its establishment and at later periods, are no exceptional instances, they are a characteristic element of the national life of the Jews. On the one hand, the want of it exists; the people have not yet passed the stand-point of Sacrificial Worship, hence there must be priests; and, as they must exist, they must be of special purity, must not be priests of idols, but priests of the True God, so that they might set an example to the people by pure morals, by honest aspiration towards self-purification. But, after all, every institution which is founded upon indulgence towards the weakness of human nature, bears the impress of its low birth upon its face. The priests did not come up, during the first period of Judaism, to the expectations entertained of their mission, the prophets continually contended against the priests. "The priests that despise my name!" "Both priests and people, all are alike, full of sin!" They are designated and chastised

as men who were guided by selfish motives in their high service. Thus, then, Priesthood is a tolerated institution, not an integral part of Judaism. When in later times idolatry was subdued by means of the *one* Temple, and those of the priests who belonged to that Temple obtained higher authority, Priesthood was greatly honored for a length of time; so that after the return of the people from the Babylonish captivity, the descendants of the priests were made also rulers. But they preserved their authority only for a brief period; even then, during the second period, they did not realize the expectations entertained of them; therefore, again a struggle was carried on against them with all energy, and again we read in one of the later books: "God hath given unto all the inheritance, the kingdom, the *priesthood*, and sanctification!" And, again, all the earlier writings of that second period state, that the priests had not proven true, that they were selfish, poor in religious knowledge. As during the existence of the First Temple, the great men of God, the Prophets, men who performed no priestly functions, who were no descendants of the priestly tribe, arose by the side of the priests who occupied an inferior position: thus we find, during the

period of the Second Temple, by the side of the priests, the men of learning, the men of speech and knowledge, men who had sprung from the humblest classes of the people, but were permeated by the spirit of God.

Priesthood also fell with the Temple, and though several ruins of the fallen edifice have been preserved, although certain institutions connected therewith still continue a feeble existence, they are, after all, nothing but ruins, which may be of importance as reminiscences of Antiquity, but do not affect the essence of Judaism, or true Jewish piety.

Thus the world-reforming Idea of Judaism manifests itself. I have essayed, in a few outlines, to present to you its innate power, its substance as well, as several of its important practical manifestations. This world-reforming and world-moving Idea of Judaism naturally required, for its practical working, a ready host bearing its arms—it required a numerous, united multitude raising high the banner of their Idea, ready for victory or death; a compact nationality, a thoroughly united Commonwealth was necessary, if that Idea would claim the recognition as a legiti-

mate power. Such is the conflict presenting itself in all phenomena of History. The Idea is something comprehensive, but it requires its standard-bearers, and these must be closely allied, lest they be scattered about. The Idea of Judaism is a world-comprising one, but it required an individual nation for its first introduction into the world. That thereby some conflicts arose, that universal humanity and nationality came into conflict with each other, we have already endeavored to show by several illustrations.

But another thought suggests itself in this connection. It is the lot of all culture-historic nations which exercise a profound influence upon the whole world, that with all their spiritually powerful unity, they will not be able to arrive at a perfect political unity. A nation which has no such glorious mission to fulfil, unites more closely and easily for the performance of the task imposed upon it. Every nation, it is true, consists of individual tribes, but the more civilized, the more powerful one rises above the rest, and gathers them under its sway, and thus the nation becomes a unity. But nations permeated by a more profound spirit, borne by a mightier Idea, cannot as easily arrive at such a unity. Look at the Grecian

nation! The Doric, the Ionian, the Attic, the Lacedemonian tribes—each of them bore the type of Grecian character upon it—the power of the Grecian spirit was thus manifested; but this spirit was too comprehensive, not to have caused various expressions; each tribe had its own peculiarity, and neither of these peculiarities would suffer itself to be supplanted by the other; the Grecian nation did not arrive at a unity, each tribe would preserve its own distinctiveness. It is true, a spiritual unity did exist in that nation; and this spiritual unity was indeed sufficiently powerful to resist all hostile assaults. History does not tell how Persian diplomatists might have regarded this small nation with silent contempt, and many a statesman may have expressed the opinion, that Hellas was but a geographical term, comprising but individual tribes, which could easily be conquered. But the powerful Persian empire stranded at that geographical term, and came near being destroyed by it, and we would hardly know anything of the Persians, of that powerful empire, if even the same Hellas and, at the same time, enslaved and despised Judaism had not furnished us with information concerning them. The unity of the Grecian nation was, therefore, a powerful

one, and the consciousness of its nationality animated it; but yet, it never attained to a truly political compactness, and only when its energy was exhausted and its peculiarity began to vanish, a more savage tribe, the Macedonian appeared, cemented them together into a unit, spread the shallow remnants of Grecian culture all over the world—but, after all, it was no longer true Grecian genius. Hellenism, for all that, did not perish, it repeatedly revived to refresh the world; — its spirit did not die, although the nation itself was destroyed, although the Grecian Commonwealth never presented a true unity. The same may be maintained, though not as comprehensively, of the Italian States of the Middle Ages. They were States small in territory, but great in their characteristic peculiarities; each of them so keenly and so deeply affecting the culture and historic development of the peoples, that each was determined to preserve its own peculiar type. Whether Piedmont is destined to become the Italian Macedon, the future will show. Does Germany present to us the same picture? does she, too, occupy a culture-historic position in History? and is every one of her races for that reason intent upon preserving its independence, so that they shall never

attain to the unity which they desire from their deepmost hearts? Is the German nation, indeed, not destined to become a greater State, but merely a great spiritual agent in mankind? Well, it is not the worst destiny that may be allotted to a nation, though it may cause profound grief and pain to those who cling with fervent love to their country, and do not merely wish for its spiritual importance, but desire for it also a full authoritative power.

Be this, however, as it may, Israel was such a nation. Israel also had an Idea which went beyond its national existence, and it was for this very reason that this Idea assumed different forms of expression in the several tribes, so that a thorough unity of their political life could not be arrived at. The ancient history of the Jewish people has reached us in a very fragmentary form, conceived and rendered by its writers from their several, individual points of view; a great part of it is presented from the stand-point of that tribe, which, in the end, proceeded as victor; to wit: the tribe of Judah, the only one which, after all, preserved its existence. Furthermore, the ancient history of the Jews is written from such a point of view, according as the people were

sinful or not, according as the Kings were pious or apostates. There are in the history of a State or Nation, besides, other co-operating agents; and although the realization of the Divine Idea was the mission proper of the Jewish nation, yet the Jewish Commonwealth had also a general history, which even has reached us only in fragments: we must guess at it, we must compile it for ourselves. The people lived in tribes, this its whole history shows; each individual tribe remains independent for some time; the tribes join themselves together into smaller unions. Of these groups we have various information: a grouping into *four divisions*—representing their descent from four mothers which even marked out a certain division of the people and characterized each portion as a compact part of its own. Besides this division, we find another grouping. Of the tribes encamped in the wilderness, three invariably march under the banner of one chief tribe; but also of this *quatri-partite division* we are little informed. And still another division is presented as decisive, even from the earliest time. I say, from the earliest time; for it is a very significant remark uttered by our ancient Teachers: "The history of our patriarchs, the first progenitors of Israel, is of great import-

ance for the history of later times." Instances are pointed out which are decisive for the history of later periods. At the very beginning, the tribes of *Reuben*, *Ephraim* and *Judah* are presented as chief tribes.

Reuben, the first-born, has a legal claim upon primogeniture, but is not permitted to exercise that right; the tribe of Reuben is the first that becomes settled, acquires lands, and thus gains authority over the other tribes; and yet it does not enjoy their confidence. It is true, Reuben claims the leadership, he seeks—thus it is said of the ancient Reuben, and this circumstance is the characteristic attribute of the tribe itself in later days—to take possession of his father's concubine, and thereby to acquire the supreme rule. When Absalom sought to usurp the reign of his father David, his cunning counsellor, Ahitophel, said to him: "Go in unto thy father's concubines which he hath left to keep the house: and all Israel shall hear that thou hast broken with thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong." When Adonijah, who likewise sought, but without success, to usurp the reign during the life-time of David, received permission, after his death, to remain in the country, he ad-

dressed Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon, saying: "Speak, I pray thee, unto Solomon the King, that he give me Abishag, the Shunammite"—who attended on David in his last days—"to wife." Bathsheba regarding this petition as a harmless one, conveyed it most innocently to Solomon; but Solomon, indignant at the request, replied: "Ask for him the kingdom also!" When, after the death of Saul, David entered upon the reign over Judah, and Ishbosheth, the weak son of Saul, continued for some time to be the shadow-king of the other tribes, Abner, the captain, who was his chief supporter, manifested his desire to usurp the royal power by appropriating to himself one of Saul's concubines. Ishbosheth ventures to remonstrate with him—but Abner now gives full swing to his anger, consummates his treachery and goes over to David. In the same spirit the prophet Nathan, in his castigatory remonstrance, tells David that he ought to have been satisfied to have received the wives of his former master Saul into his bosom.

We may go still further in authenticating our opinion. To all appearance, Judaism permitted Kings exclusively to keep concubines; wherefore —except in more ancient times—concubines are

mentioned only in connection with Kings. Hence, it was natural, that whoever appropriated to himself the concubines of the King, signified thereby, at the same time, that he had assumed the reign. Now an event becomes clear to us, the importance of which has not been hitherto perceived. When immediately after the suppression of the rebellion of Absalom, the Benjamite Sheba ben Bichri attempted another revolution, and really succeeded to win over to him all Israel except the tribe of Judah, David "took the ten women his concubines, whom he had left to keep the house, and put them in ward, and fed them, but went not into them, and they were shut up unto the day of their death, living in widowhood." The reason of this proceeding on the part of David, may have been not merely to show his abhorrence of an intercourse with those concubines after they had been violated by his son Absalom, but because, on one hand, he would not expose them to be seized and made a handle of by another usurper, and on the other, he voluntarily resigned this royal prerogative, seeing that his throne again became tottering.

Moreover, that the connection which we have pointed out as existing between the request of

Adonijah to obtain Abishag, the concubine of David, and his usurpation of royalty, is seriously meant by the Biblical writer, by the author of the Book of Kings, is proven also by the fact, that he, forestalling the history of later events, closely connects, at such an early date, the two events; to wit: the reception of Abishag by David, and the revolt of Adonijah during the life-time of the latter, (*I. Kings, ch.* i.) with the view to justify Solomon's suspicion, when he regarded the request of Adonijah for the possession of Abishag as a new attempt at revolt.

You see that the intercourse with the concubines of the father and ruler involved also a claim to the acquisition of the throne; and thus the pretension of the tribe is already forestalled by the conduct of the ancient Reuben. It was the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, that revolted against Moses; nay, all the Reubenites appeared as a seceded tribe, and the rest of Israel had no confidence in them. When, at one time, a national war had broken out, Deborah, the prophetess, exclaimed: "Reuben, why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks? for as to the divisions of Reuben, there were serious doubts." Thus Reuben is pushed into the

background, is blamed, even he who has his pretensions, which, however, gain no favor. He desires to save Joseph, but is not listened to; he is ready to offer himself as hostage for Benjamin, but receives no answer; he afterwards complains that he had not been obeyed, but no attention is paid to his complaint. Jacob, in his blessing before his death, says to him: "Reuben thou hadst been destined to power and excellency, but unstable as water thou hast forfeited thy excellency." Moses, in his blessing, says: "Let Reuben live, and not die, and let not his men be few!"—and nothing more. And Reuben was the first tribe that perished; even before the other tribes were carried into exile, his land was conquered, and the inhabitants carried into captivity.

This is one tribe that aspired to authority, but could not obtain it for any length of time.

Another, mightier tribe, is that of *Ephraim*. The history of Ephraim from his earliest time, or rather that of Joseph, his father, is overcast with true charms; it is a prototype of later periods, of the history of the tribe itself. Joseph is likewise a first-born son,—he is the first-born son of the beloved wife, of that wife who was *the* wife of Jacob, whom he had beheld first, for whom he


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had served, whom he loved, whom he bore in his heart as long as he lived. Joseph himself, a beautiful, lovely youth, how noble is his conduct on all occasions? In his dreams he looks into the future; but even this betokens his aspiring spirit, his profound presentiment of his future importance and greatness; and he not alone is, and grows great in authority, but also in moral excellence; he proves his purity in his resisting all temptations, in the midst of the heaviest trials he preserves, by the chastity of his heart, his innocence and cheerfulness. But he is removed into a strange land; his greatness manifests itself in the extension of external power rather than of spiritual vigor; this is the significant feature of the tribe of Ephraim. We have not sufficient information of this tribe to fully exhibit this its significant feature; all records have a Judean coloring, yet revealing throughout its distinguished position. The man who first enters Canaan, Joshua, is of the tribe of Ephraim; Joshua, the successor of Moses, is an Ephraimite. Ephraim is the first that established the power of Israel. The first prophets arose in Ephraim, and proclaim the noble, high-minded spirit reigning in that tribe. True, it feels impelled to become a

great power; not satisfied with its distinguished position within Israel, it often enters upon conquest. The Israelitish Great Power tries to become an Asiatic one, but it never could approach its aim to have supreme sway over Israel.

By the side of Ephraim we invariably meet with *Judah*. Judah, gloomier, not exhibiting the same amiability, appears, on the whole, more compact, more tight, and consequently, more tenacious, more vigorously developing the Idea. Judah saves Joseph from death; Judah offered himself as a surety for Benjamin, when Joseph would detain him. Of the tribe of Judah is one of the messengers, Caleb the son of Jephuneh, who is likewise full of enthusiasm for the conquest of Canaan and repudiates the hesitancy of the other tribes as unworthy. It was the tribe of Judah, also, that preserved its own peculiarity and for a time, ruled over all Israel. No doubt, this rule was not a compact one, the independence of tribes was surely still distinct enough, so that even at the time of David and Saul there was no real Consolidated Monarchy; yet it admits of no doubt, that the supremacy of Judah was, though unwillingly, recognized. There is a significant parable which discloses the very heart of the

national life: David was dead, and Solomon followed him; he was a wise King, and of his wisdom especially one instance is related which reveals the innermost soul of his time. Once, thus the tale runs, there came two women unto the King, one with a dead child and the other with a living one, but each of them asserted that the living child belonged to her, and must be adjudged to her. Then said Solomon: "Bring me a sword, and divide the living child in two and give half of the child to each." One of the women was satisfied with this decision, but the other exclaimed: "Let the child live, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it!" Then said Solomon: "She is the true mother of the child,"—she would rather give him up than see his life jeoparded. A beautiful trait of true wisdom! But it is more than this, it is a complete picture of the condition of the people at that time. Division of the Kingdom was the motto, and the hatred which one tribe bore to the other was shown when the strong arm of Solomon had been palsied in death: the division of the empire actually took place; the desire of every individual tribe to assume the supremacy became manifest. "Mine is the living son, mine is the whole people!" was said by each

one of the tribes. "Well, then, divide the Kingdom!" No! they did not desire division, the true patriots abhorred it; yet, no one of the rivals could prevail on himself to say: "Give unto him the whole empire, but divide it not!" The word of Solomon sounded in their ears admonishingly, but could not fire their hearts: the division of the Kingdom was consummated, and mutual hatred and hostility between Judah and Ephraim followed in its train, Ephraim being more a Great State, Judah rather a small, Middle State.

Do you wish to hear an expressive word conveying this idea? There was a King in Judah, Amaziah, a victorious, valiant, gallant man, who had humbled and chastised many a neighboring ruler; the King of Israel at that time, was Joash. Now, Amaziah sent word to Joash, saying: "Come let us measure each other." Joash sent him the cutting reply: "The thistle that was in Lebanon once sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, 'Give thy daughter to my son to wife:' and there came a little animal and trod down the thistle." Do you not hear in this speech the overbearing pride of a Great Power in the face of a Middle State? Thus Ephraim treated Judah. and it came so far, that Ephraim entered into

an alliance with foreign nations to humble Judah, Pekah entered into an alliance with the Assyrians against Judah; and through such steps Ephraim, or the Kingdom of Israel, sealed its own destruction; thinking that it had outgrown the Israelitish Idea, it desired to be an Asiatic Great Power, and with the view of accomplishing its aim, it believed itself at liberty to betray the interests of Israel, its own spiritual life, under the pretence to serve greater, more general objects. Then a greater power appeared, that of Assyria, and crushed Israel. Judah maintained his ground on the battle-field, the Assyrian power was compelled to retreat from before him; he preserved his existence for some time after, and during that time allotted to him, the great men arose who animated the popular spirit. Judah succeeded in preserving securely his internal compact union, by means of the unity of the Divine Service in Jerusalem, as of all other religious institutions. Judah developed his spirit to an imperishable, inward strength. He, too, was compelled to yield, he was swallowed by the Babylonian Empire, and yet not swallowed; his political life was consumed, but his spiritual life was preserved, despite his exile; Judah was compelled to emigrate, but it was only the citizens

that emigrated; the members of his faith continued their unity. The Ten Tribes have been consumed; one portion of them affiliated themselves with other nations, another went over to the Kingdom of Judah, but the latter remained —remained the standard-bearer of their spiritual life, and its name is now borne by the Religion which, through thousands of years, has victoriously maintained its ground upon the world's battlefield.

LECTURE VI.

THE EXILE AND THE RETURN OF THE JEWS.—TRADITION.

Let us for a few moments more dwell upon the consideration of the various groups of States which, at the same time, corresponded with the different religious tendencies developed in Israel. The tribe of Reuben, we observed, was the first that changed its nomadic life into a permanent settlement; it was the first that had become that element in Israel which led to the organization of a State, to the establishment of a Nation; but in later times it was pushed back and, hence, did not receive that consideration which its first establishment of a nationality perhaps deserved.

There is no doubt, also, that it did not keep pace with the development of Religion. It is true that the establishment of the Revealed Doctrine was consummated on the other side of the Jordan,

in the territory which belonged to the tribe of Reuben and those that followed it; Moses never passed that territory, he remained and died there; there, Revelation first became known; there also, the foundation was laid for the Jewish Idea, and there it was fortified, and thence it received form and shape by means of the most various practical institutions. Nevertheless, the tribe of Reuben remained behind the progressive march of development, its culture remained unripe and was pushed back by loftier developments, and thus sank into complete oblivion. At a very early date we learn that Reuben and the other tribes that followed him, built an altar unto the One Living God, and that this proceeding had, nevertheless, excited suspicion, as though they had manifested idolatrous intentions, so that the other tribes came very near making war upon them. Reuben went down, unsung and unremembered, and his land came into the possession of Ammon, Moab and Edom, nations which are described as especially hostile to Judaism. Of a spiritual life within this territory, such as history has recorded of the other tribes, no traces have been left. At a late period, when this territory belonged to Judea, it was conquered again and no distinction is pre-

sented. Judaism, spreading far and wide, with its animating influences, conquers also that country. The ancient standpoint of the Territory is passed.

Next, it was the tribe of Ephraim that rose both by political power and spiritual loftiness and ennoblement. It was among this tribe, distinguished alike by intellectual qualities and noble, refined manners, that the Prophets appeared, the men who bore within them the full, pure knowledge of God, who proclaimed the Doctrine according to its profound meaning and full development. True, the whole people did not arrive at the very acme of its vigorous bloom; Ephraim also disappears, the foundation of political life, and with it the soil for further religious development, was taken from under it, but yet, it did not disappear altogether.

The Kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians, and its inhabitants carried into captivity; a portion of them, however,—for in Antiquity only partial expatriations took place, nations were never altogether annihilated or exterminated—a portion of the people of Israel remained in their native country. Those who remained were joined

by a class of settlers sent thither by the conqueror, with the view of saving the country from desolation. And here the power of intellectual culture proved its superiority; the conquerors yielded to the spirit of the conquered. As in later times savage hordes destroyed the Roman Empire and as victors crushed, with impunity, the ancient nationality, but yet bowing to higher culture, were civilized by it, and thus transformed into one of the humanizing elements of the world, so it happened also in the conquered land of the ancient Kingdom of Israel. The settlers who were sent thither to divide the land, that is, the Kingdom of Israel, with its ancient inhabitants, gradually turned themselves into Israelites, into Ephraimites. Henceforth, they took their name from *Shomron*, the ancient capital of the Kingdom, and called themselves *Shomronim*, *Samaritans*; they were Israelites who embraced Israelitism, at first, it is true, with an admixture of Assyrian customs, but more and more adapted themselves to the Ephraimitic Ideas, hence, to the fundamental principles of Judaism, taking hold of the Divine Idea, together with the practices of life generated by this Divine Idea, both as regards moral action and religious form. Thus they yielded, and became

complete Samaritans. Certainly, this was likewise an antiquated phase! The Kingdom of Israel had remained behind in religious knowledge, and although it possessed the foundation for it, yet it had repudiated the living spirit which ceaselessly continued its work thereon and which was cultivated in the Kingdom of Judah; nothing was left for them but the law of Moses; but they were compelled, with the perseverance of jealousy and hostility, to keep off the great prophets who had arisen in Judah, who regarded Jerusalem as their centre, and the house of David as the depositary of the political, social and religious conviction of their people; they had the letter of the law, but they were not possessed of the full life of the spirit, and thus no nobler fruit was brought to maturity; therefore, they clung with tenacity to their ancient holy places. Sichem, which already in ancient times was a place for the cultivation of religious life, continued to be their holy city; Mount Garizim, at the foot of which Sichem was situated, was venerated as the place of Revelation; there to offer their sacrifices was regarded by them as an act of the loftiest piety. The Samaritans of later times, adopted many parts of the Jewish Doctrine; poor of knowledge,

having only ancient recollections and traditions, they were compelled to draw from the living spiritual fount that never ceased to exercise its ever-fertilizing influence upon Judaism; they adopted Judaism, but only partially, and in so far as it would not endanger their own peculiarities. Thus they remained a sickly religious community, and yet preserved themselves as such a long time. Such is the power of even a crippled Idea, that, after all, it proves to be a life-imparting agency; they preserved themselves for a long time; nay, they exist even to this day; but their existence was a sickly one, their religious life, morbid; their spiritual development could not rise to eminence; they clung to weather-beaten ruins upon which, it is true, moss may grow, but no healthful, nourishing plant. Even at a time when a new revulsion passed through the world and touched also those regions, some slight convulsion, indeed! became perceptible in those benumbed members, and single individuals gave signs of awakening, but they did not arrive at full life; and thus they sank deeper and deeper into spiritual atrophy and political decay; their number diminished more and more; they could not tear themselves away from the little spot which alone continued to afford

them new nourishment; the Idea which they bore within them did not appear to them to be one for all mankind, that could be carried unto all the world; they must needs cling to their native city. There they would live, there they live even to this day, dwindled down to about one hundred families; and thus they look forward to utter annihilation, to live on the memory of a great time of youth which, however, because it was unable to ripen into vigorous manhood, was interrupted in the very midst of it.

It was the tribe of Judah that took upon itself, and executed fully and entirely, the development of the Divine Idea. It was the tribe of Judah, bound together by a compact union, permeated by the belief in the One in Unity, who as the Pure and Incorporeal One, was represented as the "*He Is*," by the belief which was completely embodied in that tribe and, bearing Unity in itself, produced also unities in all its organizations, in the uninterrupted succession withthin e samc royal family, in its Temple and all the institutions connected with it, an animating, civilizing spirit in all the forms resulting from that belief; it was Judah that ripened into true manhood and developed

the Revealed Doctrine into a full life-power. It was in Judah also that those great men arose whose comprehensive works—but why call them works?—whose comprehensive words of life, deeds of life have been handed down even to this day as a life-giving fountain. It was Judah that developed the Idea to such a degree of power, that it was no longer necessary to be bound up within a certain country. The establishment of a nationality in the midst of Israel was not its mission; Israel's mission was not fulfilled by the establishment of its nationality.

Nations which the World's History commissions to establish, preserve and guard, for a time, their commonwealths, in order that they may perform their allotted work, are cut asunder as soon as they are disengaged from their commonwealths,—their lives and works cease,—they advance towards their destruction. But a Nationality which is only a means for a higher object, an external form for a great Idea intended to comprise all mankind,—must, for a time, gather its forces, until it may present a serried host amongst which the Idea may obtain its free manifestations, that it may, fully strengthened, spread all over the world; such a Nationality may cease as a Commonwealth, and yet

it is not destroyed as far as its essence is concerned. Judah fell, but Judaism did not fall with it,—for this is the name which thenceforward the Revealed Doctrine bore, and still does bear,—*Judaism* is the full expression for the Revealed Doctrine; and, hence, the distinctive name for the Religion of Judah is: *Judaism.* Let us bear and preserve this name as a name of honor! Much ignominy has been heaped upon this name and those that bear it; ignominy has settled upon it, wherefore it has often been regarded by its professors with a certain solicitude; they would willingly exchange it for another: Israelites, Professors of the Mosaic Religion, &c., &c. But taking the term in its limited sense, we are by no means Israelites; we are Israelites as the descendants of Jacob, or Israel, but not Israelites as members of the Kingdom of Israel. We are not exclusively Professors of the Mosaic Religion: we do not follow the Mosaic Law exclusively, though we may regard it as our symbol, as the comprehensive Book, containing from its beginning to its end the Doctrine of God. Let us not repudiate the great men who appeared in Judah, the Isaiahs and Jeremiahs, the poets of the Psalms and Job; they are parts of the living spirit, of the true foundation that flows through the whole; and

if we, like the Ephraimites, would follow merely the letter of the Law without recognizing its spiritual source, then, indeed! we are no Jews, nor do we deserve to bear the name.

Judah fell, but Judaism continued to exist even after Judah had been carried into captivity; for Judah also met with this lot, after having been conquered by the power of Babylon. But being firmly strengthened, it proved that it was permeated by a higher spiritual power. True, in their exile the Judeans hanged their harps upon the willow, they would not sing the song of Zion, lamentations flowed from their hearts, but also their full conviction that their highest treasure had gone with them into captivity, and not been given up to decay.

They had gone to Babylon, and as every incident in the history of this people is providential, as everywhere the direction of a higher historical power is manifested, so also in the destiny that awaited them here. They did not remain long under the rule of Babylon; Babylon also was forced to yield to another empire; the memories of Babylon have sunk beneath the earth; another nation took her place, the *Persian*, which was animated by mild customs, by a higher knowledge. It was, indeed, also an Asiatic nation, it was permeated by

the spirit of its time, but, nevertheless, possessed a higher culture of its own. Judah, or rather the professors of Judaism living in Persia, found nothing in the teachings of Persia that they should adopt; they bore their own peculiarity in them and developed it independently; but the fact that they had no longer to contend against crude idolatry, exercised its mighty influence upon them. Life in Persia was of a purer kind; the Religion of Light, the worship of the purest emanation of the Deity, afforded peculiar religious nourishment to the Persians. The Jews adopted nothing of the Persian views, at all events, nothing important. The assumption that a Reform was effected by the influence of the Parsees is justified by no facts, cannot be demonstrated by reference to the existence of unavoidable causes; isolated, unimportant views may, as even our ancient Teachers tell us, have crept into Judaism, but they remained secondary. Our ancient Teachers report: "The names of the Angels emigrated with the Jews into their mother country;" and what else does this mean, than that the whole belief in Angels had crept into Judaism from Babylon, from Persia? This belief in Angels, this numerous court gathered around God, as they were found

around the earthly ruler in Persia; the assumption of Seven Archangels who, as the highest princes around the King, are assembled near Ormuzd as his highest ministers: this belief may well have passed into Judaism; Judaism also adopted, in many respects, the theory of Angels and their ministrations; but that theory never rose to the dignity of an influencial belief, to a dogma that should have exercised any decisive effect upon the development of Judaism. On the contrary, we find a determined struggle against Parseeism, in so far as it was antagonistic to the fundamental principles of Judaism.

Parseeism recognized a Dualism: *Ormuz* as the creator and god of light and every good thing, *Ahriman*, as the creator of darkness and every evil. Now, the Prophet writing especially from the stand point of that time; the great seer who by no means hates Parseeism or raises his voice against its rule; who, on the contrary, glorifies, in exulting strains, Cyrus and his deeds: that Prophet presents himself, saying: "Yea, Israel shall be delivered, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me, I, the Lord, and none else, I form the light, and *create*

darkness, I make peace and salvation, and *create evil*, I the Lord create all this." There are not, as the Persians assume, two creating spirits; no, the same God is the Creator of darkness and evil. The assertion that God is the very creator of evil, is here enunciated with such trenchant directness as we do not find it elsewhere, nay, as it does not at all correspond with the spirit of Judaism; but the antagonism had then to be emphasized with all distinctness. When the time was past, when the influence of Parseeism offered no longer any dangers, and our ancient Teachers introduced that verse into our daily prayers, they changed it into the following: "who formeth and createth darkness, who maketh peace and salvation, and createth *the whole*," not: the evil!

Thus the Jews lived among the Persians, as it appears, not generally oppressed, but zealously attending to the cultivation of their own peculiar spiritual life. Then a man appeared in that nation entrusted with a civilizatory mission, with a grand world-historic task. Every hero, every great conqueror is an instrument in the hand of Providence, and whatever his ambition undertakes becomes a seed of blessing for many countries. *Cyrus* undertook to destroy many empires, he made great

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conquests and founded a great Persian Empire; but he was certainly also a noble man, permeated by a lofty spirit. Nothing of what ancient records relate concerning him justifies the assumption, that he was a bloodthirsty conqueror; but it is evident beyond all doubt, that he was a noble, highminded character, and as such he showed himself also towards the Jews who lived in his domains. He understood the peculiar character of the closely united band of the Jews who preserved their unity even in the strange land, and said to them; "who is there among you whom God urges to go up again to Jerusalem, let him do so and go up." And they went thither, not all of them,—many remained in Persia; nor were those that remained the worst of the people. Even then their fervent attachment to their faith was joined by love for their new home, although but a short time, hardly two generations, had elapsed since they had settled in their new country. Many remained, but a large portion returned to their ancient land;—these were followed by other separate emigrations, and thus they established, for the second time, the Jewish Commonwealth, their national existence. Another phenomenon is thus presented, such as is hardly found again in history. Whenever a people has

left its country, when its Commonwealth is detroyed, its members are dispersed, State and Nation cannot be restored; when the nerves of a nation are severed, its bond of union rent asunder, its inner life deadened, it is a difficult task to draw new life from the same soil; to the attempt to fill the dead members with new juices, hardly any people has shown itself equal; the example of the Jews is almost the only one in the world's history.

The Jews returned and formed a new nationality—and how could *they* succeed in doing so? Because they were more than a nation, because they were a Community united by the bond of an Idea. Grecian Mythology relates of the giant Antaeus, that he had been invincible so long as he stood upon the ground, but that it was an easy task to conquer him when he was raised; when Hercules undertook the task to kill him, he was unable to overwhelm him on the ground, but as soon as he had lifted him up, he accomplished the task very easily. The same is the case with almost every people; as long as it is upon its parent soil, it continually draws new energy from it: but as soon as it is removed from it, its vigor has vanished. But Judah was not merely a people, it was the

depositary of an Idea, permeated by a living thought which it strove merely to represent, externally, by its nationality, and which, therefore, it could undertake to express a second time.

True, the real, direct creative agency of Revelation was at an end; nevertheless, at that restoration, men rose in Judah who are, as it were, the seal, the conclusion of the Prophets; above all, that seer who, with exulting strain, greets the beautiful time of rejuvenation and restoration; who, as one of the noblest and most farseeing, penetrates, with a comprehensive glance, with a loftier conception, all conditions, and pictures, with convincing force, the mission of Judah for all mankind. He hails that time and Cyrus, the hero of that time, with enthusiastic words, saying: "That saith of Cyrus, My shepherd! Let him perform all my pleasure, that he may proclaim, let Jerusalem be built; let the foundations of the Temple be laid. Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, I have seized his right hand, to subdue nations before him; I will loose the loins of kings, the doors are opened before him. I will go up before thee, and make the crooked places straight, break the gates of brass, cut in sunder the bars of iron, give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of

secret places, that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, who call thee, the God of Israel." And then the Prophet continues: "That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west.... that I am the fashioner of light, and creator of darkness, &c." In these words we hear the enthusiasm of a richly endowed bard, who was permeated by the living Idea of Judaism; who greets with fervor, with highest delight, the time in which it could again develop its life-giving work in the form of a living nation. Other prophets also, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, appeared at the beginning of the enterprise and greeted the time with the spirit of Revelation. But yet, the time must soon come when the stream of Divine Revelation would be dried up; the Revealed Doctrine was concluded, Israel and Judah had been thoroughly imbued with it.

Revelation was at an end: but, aside from it, a living spirit must continue and animate the whole, lest it might become paralyzed; the spirit that formerly animated men with direct inspiration, and created the Doctrine, must needs continue its work in the form of preservation and animation. As the Creative Power called the whole nature into

existence in a miraculous manner, and then, when everything came to rest, rested itself in a certain measure, ceased to produce new creations, but still manifests itself as a power of preservation and nurture; as the same Power that created still lives in the laws which direct and regulate nature, in her freshness and continuance forming a living stream that ever fertilizes her anew,—so it is also in the spiritual life which was created by Revelation, and was to be preserved and animated by *Tradition.* The creative spirit had not altogether vanished from Judaism, there was no complete conclusion, so that nothing could be renewed, nothing ennobled,—the living spirit continued to flow through the times. Though the complaint is heard: "There is no more prophet among us,"—yet, the same holy, ennobling spirit continued its work. Tradition is the developing power, continuing in Judaism as an invisibly creative agent, as a certain something which will never obtain its full expression, but which will ever work and create. Tradition is the life-giving soul in Judaism, it is the daughter of Revelation, enjoying the same rights with her mother. Tradition never did, and never will vanish from Judaism;—it is the fountain that will ever fertilize the times and, when-

ever it will come in contact with the outer world, create new formations, according to the everchanging wants and necessities of life. It was this spirit that laid the foundation of the new national existence, the new religious life. If ever a time should come,—but it will never come,—when the stream of Tradition shall be dried up; when Judaism may be regarded as something completely concluded; when with a retrospective glance, men will contemplate the creations of former times and desire blindly to preserve them; when others will not willingly bow to the past, but yet look with romantic reverence, with a sort of antiquarian affection, upon Judaism as upon ruins; or others again will pass by those ruins with aristocratic indifference, and no living power, will be manifest anywhere :—whenever such a time should come, then, indeed! you may prepare a grave for Judaism,—then it will be dead,—then its spirit will have vanished altogether,—it will present a walking skeleton that may continue for some time, but will surely advance towards dissolution. Such is not Judaism; Judaism has a continuously creating Tradition. Yes, let us honor this word! Tradition is, like Revelation, a spiritual power, that ever continues to work: a higher power that does not

proceed from man, but is an emanation from the Divine Spirit; a power which works among all, chooses its own ministers, manifests itself by its ever purer and maturer fruits, and thus preserves vitality and existence itself.

With the Tradition the second popular and political life, the second epoch of the existence of Judah was developed. But this political existence had to be established by a heavy struggle; and notwithstanding the deep delight felt at first by all, sadness soon crept into the hearts on account of the scanty means at their command, and the poor results gained. For it was a second birth that had to be effected, and it soon became evident, that a certain degree of hesitancy was exercised, that they did not draw from the living, creative spirit, but preferred, with painful consideration, ancient custom, though it no longer suited the time. Soon the Priesthood, and Sacrifice appeared in the foreground; the more so, since the family of David and the priests who had remained faithful, the sons of Zadok, had gained predominant authority in Judah and were regarded as the natural leaders around whom all gathered; and since the first founders of the new Commonwealth

were descendants from these two families, one a descendant from the house of David, and the other, from that of Zadok. Now, as the new Commonwealth was tributary to Persia, it was but natural that the reigning descendant of David was of little importance: that the Highpriest obtained the highest honor, and thus a Priestly Rule was created, a nobility which, at the same time, boasted of their holiness, a family that identified their personal claims with those of the Sanctuary, and clothed their human passions with the garb of holiness. The same great seer, therefore, uttered his severe strictures also against those who boasted of their inherited holiness, who prided themselves in their aristocratic descent, who derided the servant of God, who, after all, was the only faithful one, the Middle Estate that clung to its ancient and sacred custom, but was not of the ruling party, but yet constituted the centre of the political and religious life of Judah. We hear complaints of deep oppression, of internal decadence; and another circumstance was added, that the political life would gain no strength: it had not been evolved from within itself—it was a gift of the grace of the Persian King. A given liberty is a broken reed, which has no parent soil, which will wither and die. Thus

profound sadness had seized upon the people, it was a certain despair of themselves. Many gloomy, despair-breathing words uttered by the Preacher are the very production of that time; they are expressive of the insecurity that has taken hold of a popular mind, when the inner and outer life is attacked, when culture has reached a high degree and yet cannot find its full expression. It was a state of things which the prophet expresses thus: "Children have come to birth, but there is no strength to bring forth." There is no development, nothing but dissension and disruption, the feeling of impotence gnaws upon all. This is the deepest woe of a people, its heart breaks thereby, and no less, also, its spiritual energy. But thus it should not happen in Israel, heavy burdens should weigh them down, but they were again to be uplifted. There is a point which no people suffers to be injured, for which it struggles with all the energy of its soul, for the defence of which it awakens all its powers —it is its heart. Israel also was assailed at his heart—it was his belief which was threatened to be broken by its contact with Hellenism. Then a struggle ensued for his inmost life, and Judaism proceeded from that contest with new-born strength.

LECTURE VII.

HELLENISM.—SADDUCEES AND PHARISEES.

THE History of the World lazily and quietly passed over the new Jewish Commonwealth and Society, for several centuries, without recording any important results. "Shall a country bring forth anew in one day, shall a nation be born at once?" Thus exclaims the great Prophet of that time, and we repeat his words. Many centuries pass away in history with apparent stillness, while, yet, in the deepmost parts of the popular life, lasting works are accomplished to become manifest in due time; even great events pass by certain sections unnoticed, and we hardly believe that they left their traces upon them; and yet, impressions are made which will become visible through their fruits and results, as soon as air, and light, or powerful internal impulses favor

their manifestations. Alexander, the Macedonian, established his vast empire by uniting portions from three continents; in consequence of this enterprise, Hellenism was spread far and wide, seeds of the Grecian spirit were strewn all over his great Empire. It is true, Hellenism as it was carried over the world by the armies of Alexander, was already exhausted and faded; Alexander himself, though a disciple of Aristotle, was himself, to a certain extent, a wild graft upon the olive tree of Hellenism; and whatever he intended to consummate by the force of his arms, was, undoubtedly, less the dissemination of the Grecian spirit than the subjection of the nations under his rule. Nevertheless, a Grecian culture went along with him, which, although pretty well antiquated, was yet new to those countries. His Empire did not outlast his life; it broke to pieces after his death; but, nevertheless, the Grecian States maintained their existence in those regions of which Palestine formed a part. The visit of Alexander among the Jewish people is pretty well enveloped in myth. His presence shook the whole Orient; his name shone everywhere and for a long time; nor did the Jews forget him; they remembered him as a ruler who was not unfriendly

to them, who even met the then reigning High-Priest with humble reverence. How much of truth there may be in all this, or how much embellishing legend may have added thereto, we are unable this day clearly to determine. This much is certain, that Alexander himself exercised no influence upon the development of Judaism and the Jews, but the States which evolved themselves from his great Empire and were likewise founded upon Grecian culture, did exercise their influence in divers ways.

Whenever two spiritual powers meet, such as Hellenism and Judaism, such as Grecian culture and Jewish Religion, when two such spiritual, world-reforming powers come into conflict with each other, that conflict must necessarily result in new formations; something new will always grow out of it, be it by their antagonism, or by their spiritual interpenetration; new creations will be evolved, either bearing the character of both, or pre-eminently that of one of them, yet impregnated, in a certain measure, by that of the other. Now, the clashing of Hellenism and Judaism produced various results. In Egypt, and especially in Alexandria, which had been established by

Alexander himself as a free city, and soon grew to be the free centre of Grecian culture in Egypt, which undoubtedly contained a soil deeply fertilized by Grecian elements, the ancient Grecian culture sprang forth, though in a rejuvenated form, but at least in some degree, as its natural after-growth; it spread there especially among the men of rank, among those endowed with higher intellect. Here, Grecian culture became a new element of life without being able to exhibit a creative power, to effect healthful productions. In this new Grecian home ancient custom was adhered to; learned critical investigation and research were indulged in with the desire to adopt and reproduce the external form of ancient science and learning; there existed a pedantic, would-be learning which was not fertilized by a native scientific energy. Whatever remnants of that learning have been preserved to our day, and whatever other information we have received thereof, exhibits no fresh living spirit, but merely an endeavor to punctiliously investigate the ancient literature, to press its letter and to gnaw upon its bone. Nevertheless, Alexandrianism diffused manifold culture.

And here again we behold a remarkable trait in

Judaism guaranteeing its importance. Wherever a new culture springs up, where the mind developes itself untrammelled, a fresh nationality, a vigorous spiritual development is manifested, there the professors of Judaism soon adopt the new culture, digest it, and regard the country which offers them the highest boon of life, liberty of the spirit, spiritual advancement, as their home. As a healthful plant longs after air and light, and climbs up to them in spite of all obstacles, so also, in a measure, Judaism. It requires air and light, and wherever these are granted to it, there is its home, there it feels as though it was in its own native country, as though it had been naturalized there for centuries past. Such is man's superiority over the brute creation, that he is not limited to certain spots of the world for the selection of his abode, that he may establish himself wherever life may be developed, wherever organic beings may exist; he is the lord of the earth, unlike the brute which is confined to a certain region. Judaism, in this respect, shows its comprehensively human character; it can everywhere acclimatize itself, carry everywhere its seeds, and participate in the popular life wherever it settles

down, especially where higher culture fertilizes the soil with spiritual cultivation.

In a word, the Jews had soon established for themselves a home in Egypt. Whether they emigrated thither only with Alexander, or whether some refugees had already gone there with Jeremiah after the dissolution of the Judean Commonwealth, we will not investigate; they were there, fully nationalized and naturalized. Soon, the Grecian tongue was their language, which they employed not only in their daily life, but also in their Religion, the *Jewish Religion.* They went so far that they erected for themselves a Temple at Leontopolis, a city in the province of Heliopolis, which was a copy of the Temple at Jerusalem; they did so, not to secede from Jerusalem, to break off all connection with their mother country, but with the full consciousness that they belonged entirely to the country in which they lived, and because they desired *there* to fully gratify their religious wants. This Temple was called after its founder, the *Temple of Onias;* and though it was not fully recognized in Palestine, it was, nevertheless, not condemned as an idolatrous undertaking. The Temple was a visible habita-

tion; but the spirit, the Doctrine, was of far higher importance; this, too, must needs be made accessible to them in Hellenism, in the Grecian language. That a translation of the Bible and the Pentateuch was composed for a Greco-Egyptian Prince, for one of the Ptolemies, is but legendary glorification: on the contrary, the people felt the urgent necessity to become fully possessed of the Bible, their written Sanctuary, in the Grecian language. When the translation of the Bible was undertaken, it is true, they had not yet altogether been estranged from the Hebrew language; but they, at all events, were no longer so much at home and versed in it, that they could have fully mastered the Book which was to offer them the bread and water of life; it was the Grecian language that must bring it home to them.

We have here the first instance in history of the translation of a book. The Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, and this translation is still extant under the name of "*The Septuagint.*" Embellishing legend tells us that seventy Elders had translated the Book, every one of them separately; but all completely agreed in every respect, and thus it became evident that the translation had

been illumined, as it were, by the Divine Spirit. Thus legend embellished that version, not alone among the Greco-Egyptians, but also in the writings of the Palestinians; even the Talmud contains that legend; proof sufficient, what authority and reverence were ascribed to that work even outside of Egypt. This version bore upon it the impression of the Grecian spirit of that country; true, it followed closely the letter of Holy Writ, fully rendered its meaning according as the translators understood it; but isolated alterations occur such as were demanded by the circumstances of the country. Aside from these variations, due regard was paid to religious and philosophical views. In order to afford a view into the manner in which the circumstances of the country were respected, we will adduce an example of the first kind of variation, showing how the translators took care not to give offence to the reigning dynasty or the popular prejudices. Among the prohibited animals, the "hare" is mentioned. Now, the Hebrew term would have required the word "*lagos*" in the Greek version; but as the royal family was called the "family of the *Lagi*," the mention of this name in the law of the Jews would have given offence. They changed it and

adopted a word which signifies: "hairy-footed," "thick-footed," a word which they coined to avoid offence. Asses were used only by the lower classes for riding; but in Holy Writ they are mentioned as being often employed for riding in general; for this reason, the translators would not use the term, for fear to excite scorn and derision. But also with regard to Law and Religion they carefully avoided all expressions that might give offence to the critical mind of those new Greeks; especially all figurative expressions for God, which are allowed in Holy Writ as innocent poetical terms, but would have appeared strange in the eyes of those sober-minded critics.

The Jews became more and more imbued with Grecian culture and language, without being shaken in their religious views. Indeed! the knowledge of the Hebrew language gradually decreased: this language, which is the depository of the Jewish religious conviction, which breathes forth the Religious Idea in its freshness, was gradually neglected and forgotten by the Greco-Egyptian Jews, so that even their most distinguished scholars, such as Philo, had but a school-boy knowledge of it. Even at a later time, during the

second and third centuries after Christ, when a large portion of the Grecian Jews had espoused another religion, and the faithful remnants of them more firmly embraced the *Hebrew, Palestinian Judaism*, the want of a Grecian version of the Bible was felt. Then it was discovered that the ancient version corresponded too little with the original text, a more faithful, closer adherence to the latter was demanded,—but yet, a translation could not be dispensed with! Hence, new Greek versions had to be essayed, although the Hebrew was then more generally known among them. Such translations were not undertaken in ancient times with the view of furnishing an artist-like work to be handed down to posterity, but because the demand for them proceeded from the very heart and soul of the time. Three translators of the Bible of that time are mentioned: *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus;* fragments of their versions are still extant. Even the Teachers of the Talmud praised them for their works, and the Biblical verse: "God shall enlarge Japhet and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem," was interpreted, according to the manner of paraphrasing then usual, to mean: the beauty of Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem, the grace of Hellenism shall acquire a home also in the tents

of Semitism,—a verse which has been perverted and misemployed also by others in various ways. For when Christianity became predominant in later days, that verse was thus interpreted: "God shall enlarge Japhet so that he shall thenceforward dwell in the tents of Shem,—Japhet is the heir of Shem and shall become the new Israel;" and in our day it has been asserted with more checkered ornament than plain truth, that the ancient Shem must be polished by the culture of the race of Japhet. But enough! Grecian spirit took deep root in the life of the Jews, and we are informed that at a later period a Teacher of the Talmud heard the people pronounce the "*Shemang*" in the Greek language. You perceive that, as shown by examples from antiquity, an enlightened nationality which exercises its mighty influence upon the minds of men leaves its traces also upon the religious life of Judaism; and that the professors of Judaism though remaining faithfully attached to their religion, nevertheless, identified themselves with the manners and the language of the country in which they lived.

While Alexandrianism as a scholastic science of Antiquity exhibits neither freshness nor vigor,

it is the more significant that it acted within Judaism as a motive power, as a germ for new creations. The desire was awakened to blend the Jewish inheritance with the newly acquired knowledge; to heighten the truths of Judaism by the addition of Grecian culture; to reconcile both treasures with each other, so that each should make the lustre of the other shine the more clearly and brightly. Most various literary attempts are the product, although not an especially valuable one, of this impelling desire. A fruit of an earnest, spiritual struggle was especially the "*Alexandrian Jewish Philosophy.*" It was, above all, in the domain of Philosophy that a severe, spiritual struggle and peculiar results were the natural consequences of the clashing of Judaism and Hellenism. Directly antagonistic as they were to each other, a compromise must needs be effected between them. Judaism is the fruit of self-evidence, inner experience of a vivid conviction, for which no proof is required, which cannot be fully proven. Hellenism, on the contrary, proceeded from investigation, from human research, started from the Physical, to reach, by combination and analysis, the Higher Idea. These are two processes not only diverging in their progress, but even in

their whole conception: and these two directly antagonistic views clashed against each other. But there was also in Hellenism a tendency which, although grown from the Grecian spirit, nevertheless endeavored to conceive, by a certain prophetic flight of poesy, the Higher, thence to descend to the Lower, and thus to make the former to descend into lower degrees. It desires, likewise, directly to conceive the Divine, the Ideal, by intuition, by higher perception. With such a bold flight *Plato* conceived the everlasting Good, the everlasting Beautiful, whence individual ideals evolve themselves, which as archetypes,—we are not told whether they have a distinct existence or must be regarded as mere pictures of the spirit—are expressed in real objects, perfect in themselves, while the several visible objects represent them in a limited degree. This was a system which especially suited the philosophizing Jews; it afforded them a bridge between the purely spiritual, and the physical objects. How does the Highest Spirit, the eternally Perfect One enter into the finite world? He creates ideals from Himself, says Plato,—He introspects Himself, and thus Perfection is produced; but this Perfection impresses itself upon more subordinate existences,

and thus it descends from intermediate causes to intermediate causes, until the real objects spring into existence, and Creation becomes manifest to us; God, the Eternal Existence, the eternally Perfect, is the highest cause; but the eternally Pure One does not immediately come into contact with the Impure,—only by means of manifold emanations and concatenations, the Earthly grows into existence.

Such views suited very well the Grecian Jews who had enjoyed a philosophical education. They afforded them a happy means to preserve the theory of the infallibility and unconceivableness of God, and yet to accept the different figurative expressions concerning God in the Bible, because they could refer these to the subordinate beings. Hellenism of that time, stiff and sober as it was, was unfit to conceive *naive*, poetical imageries, and to admit poetical expression without fearing that thereby the sublimity of thought might be violated. The latter was tenaciously adhered to, and whenever it expressed realities too directly, it had to yield to forced interpretations. And to such also the Bible was frequently subjected. Narratives and commands were forcibly driven from their natural simplicity into artificial philos-

ophemes, in the belief that their value would thus be enhanced; the symbolic method of interpretation is the product of the Jewish-Alexandrian spirit. The figurative expressions and events in connection with God, were referred to such subordinate spirits that had evolved themselves from God. In the writings of Philo, the most distinguished philosopher of the Jewish Alexandrian period, and perhaps also in those of all earlier authors whose works have been lost, that doctrine is comprised in the "*Logos.*" Philo is a believing, zealous Jew, he is fully convinced of the truth of Judaism requiring no proof for him; with the most intense love he devotes himself to an examination of the doctrines of Judaism, he conceived its moral spirit in the noblest purity; but he, too, cannot abstain from symbolical interpretation, and the fundamental character of the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy converges in his system in the doctrine of "*The Logos.*" This term means in Greek both "*thought*"—as Philo understands it—and "*word.*" The Logos is the *demiurgos*, the creator of the world; it was the first creation of God emanating from Him as a pure idea; as a power emanated from God it then produces the world, and continues to exercise its animating and

reforming influence upon it. This was the compromise into which Judaism entered with Hellenism. The Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy is the mother of numerous philosophies which ruled throughout the middle ages either as pure systems, or mixed with others; it assisted in the creation of a new Religion, at whose very incipiency it contributed a great share towards its reformation, surrounded it with a certain halo, illumined it with a certain philosophico-mystic lustre.

Such was one result produced by the contact between Hellenism and Judaism.

But in another country also Hellenism came in contact with Judaism: in Palestine itself. While the Egyptian Commonwealth was filled with true civilization, the Syrian-Greek Commonwealth appears to have occupied a low degree of culture; there existed only a purely outward civilization, a mere gloss without thorough refinement: not a trace remains to show that a peculiarly Grecian mode of thinking, and creativeness existed there. But the more half-refinement, the more fanaticism, the less inner worth there is, the more will outward forms be valued. Whenever Religion is not a true, inward power; whenever national life is not

actually borne by an Idea, the people will be seized with the zealous desire to establish an external unity;—such is the attempt to establish, apparently, a religious unity within a Commonwealth. As we find, in a later period, this desire expressed in the form of a "*Christian Germanic State*," so we meet here with the design to establish a Heathen-Hellenic Commonwealth. Palestine was under the rule of Syria, it should now become a part of this Heathen-Hellenic State. Judaism had, thus far, in the course of its second political existence, suffered many trials and tribulations,—it endured them quietly, now and then also with a shriek of wail; yet the popular will never manifested the stern determination to remove the oppression. But now, its very innermost heart had been touched, the time had come when its own "To be or not to be" should be decided.

Not all were ready to enter upon this contest. Those at the head of the people, the priests, the sons of Zadok, are said not to have been filled with glowing zeal to undertake the contest; they thought to be able to cast a spell upon the approaching storm by means of shuffles. The statue of Jupiter should be placed in the Temple; it was done. Contributions should be paid for the

Temple of Hercules; it was done. Gymnasia, that is to say, not schools for instruction, but institutions for games, should be established in Judea—an act which in itself was no apostasy, but yet a truly peculiar manifestation of Grecian customs;—it was done. Obedience was in every way paid to the ruler, perhaps to ward off the approaching storm, perhaps also from cowardice and vileness, with the sole view of self-preservation. But the heart of the people could not endure it; and having been deserted by its leaders, it was compelled to undertake from its own innermost ranks its defence against foreign oppression which designed not alone to destroy its earthly home, but rob it also of its spiritual realm. A small band collected under the leadership of the *Hasmoneans*, a high-minded priestly family, showed resistance, found adherents;—the enthusiasm spread abroad, the haughty oppressor was forced to yield; and in consequence of this revival, there arose from the distracted little Commonwealth a strong independent State which, thought it could not preserve its existence, yet lasted much longer than could have been expected. Hellenism and Judaism had measured their strength against each other—it is true it was faded and enervated Hel-

lenism on one side, and Judaism not yet fully strengthened, on the other—and yet the latter carried the victory, whereas the Syrian Empire perished after a short and morbid existence.

In such times, when the innermost parts of the popular heart are stirred up, the popular energies also are roused from their deepest hiding-places, spiritual life is speedily and mightily developed. Quiet reigned for centuries; all at once there was heard a loud bustle,—the creative energy became manifest, begetting new productions, or rather newly strengthened systems. Even at the establishment of the Second Commonwealth, various parties had sprung into existence. At the head of the people, as the leader of the expedition at the return from the captivity, there stood a descendant of the ancient high-priestly family, of the family of Zadok; the ancestors of this family had enjoyed high honors as high-priests in the Temple of Solomon; his descendants had uninterruptedly exercised the priestly functions in the Temple of Jerusalem. By the side of that descendant of the family of Zadok, Joshua, the son of Jozadok—there was also a descendant of the house of David, Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel; both were

leaders of the people at the same time, and they and their immediate descendants remained at the head of the nation. But the nation was neither then nor afterwards independent; at first, it was under the supreme rule of Persia; then of Egypt, and hereupon, of Syria, until the contest commenced; satraps were placed over the people, and these were indeed the rulers of the land. A King or a prince from the people themselves for the administration of their civic affairs was scarcely tolerated, his power was so limited that his authority soon vanished. It was otherwise with the high-priest who represented their religious life; considering that his office was the only homesprung one and, at the same time, a holy one, his authority naturally increased more and more, until he united with priestly power all that remained of secular authority. This was the only period in the history of Judaism when, to a certain extent, there existed a hierarchy, when a real priestly rule prevailed; but indeed! it proved itself pitiful enough. The family of the priests was that of the *Zadokites.* The people that had returned drew their enthusiasm from the efforts made for the restoration of their nationality, clung with all their might to those whom they regarded as their chiefs, espec-

ially their religious representatives: they reverently attached themselves to the priests. The determined preservation of ancient customs was at that time uppermost in their minds; the Temple and Temple service, the Priesthood connected therewith, the contributions to the Temple and Priests, constituted the centre of their religious life. Such were the sentiments that actuated the zealous portion of the people. But on their return to Palestine, they had found in the country various elements that had since settled there, and were either not at all or only very loosely attached to the Jewish faith. Now, the former most vigorously separated themselves from this mongrel race, and were, on that account, called the "Separatists," "who had separated themselves from the nations of the lands and their filthiness," and closely attached themselves to their priests and leaders. The others were called "the People of the Country;" and these constituted that portion who either had not yet embraced Judaism at all, or who followed it from dim, ancient recollections, or even as proselytes, as strangers. For such also were readily accepted, although they would not with determined vigor adhere to the precepts which the Separatists regarded as binding upon themselves.

It is a current phrase, that Judaism was opposed to proselytism. This is partially true, so far only as the phrase is understood in its true meaning. Every Religion which is convinced of its truth, which means to be truth not only for its own narrow circle, but for mankind in general, must exert itself to spread all over the human race. If it would confine itself within the narrow limits of the soil it occupies for the time being, address itself only to those who are born in it, who belong to a certain country, who have a distinct history of their own, then it has ceased to bear the characteristic attribute of true Religion; then it has become a mere sect, is no longer that breath of life which, intended for all men, should spread over all humanity; indeed, it was even Judaism that spoke first of proselytism,—it was the first that knew of strangers who subscribed unto God and who were received into all its rights and privileges; whereas Antiquity otherwise recognized only that citizen, who was born in the country, who had risen from the native soil; a stranger was always a stranger, until perhaps he had been identified, through later generations, with the indigenous race, or received the citizenship. Judaism broke down the barrier of narrow nationality; it is not

birth that makes the Jew, but inward conviction, the profession of faith; and he also who is not born of Jewish parents, but receives the true belief, becomes a Jew fully entitled to all rights and privileges. Proselytism in the more exalted meaning of the term, conveying the idea that the *conviction* of those hitherto strangers is accepted, because they have declared to participate therein,—this kind of proselytism is an offspring of Judaism. Of course, "making proselytes," mere change of form, use of violence to force affectation of belief, without persuasion by means of the innate power of truth,—such a kind of proselytism is an abomination in the sight of Judaism,—is cautioned against by it.

Thus the strangers, proselytes, constituted a large portion of the people at that period.

Even at the beginning, before the outbreak of the Syrian war, some differences arose between the several portions of the people. The Zadokites, the princes and priests,—for such is the character of hereditary dignity, and especially when it is blended with the attribute of holiness,—grew more and more narrowminded, sought to identify the whole range of Religion with themselves, gradually changed their position: instead of remaining

the servants and ministers of Religion, they made Religion their servant. On the other hand, the Separatists, the sound and strong heart of the citizens, regarded their priests and rulers as their representatives only in so far as they truly watched over their religious and political life; but as soon as they made their own personal interests paramount to the claims of Religion and the Commonwealth, the Separatists, the citizens at large, assumed a hostile attitude towards the Zadokites. Now, when the great struggle commenced, and the reigning race exhibited lukewarmness, while the citizens rose up with all power and enthusiasm, the different, separate portions turned into distinct parties. One party consisted of the Zadokites, the *Sadducees*, the descendants of the priestly estate, with the families of rank allied to them; the Separatists, the *Pharisees*, as they were called by an Aramaic name, constituted the other party. True, the Hasmoneans, or Maccabees, supported by the citizens at large, had dethroned the Zadokites and ascended both the throne and altar over the shoulders of the citizens; besides, the Hasmoneans attained to the dignity of princes and highpriests, of course through their own merits, yet, after all, by their close alliance with the healthful, vigorous

portion of the people. But here, too, we see again a general historical phenomenon manifested. A new dynasty feels deeply rejoiced when the ancient nobility rallies around it. The Sadducees constituted the ancient nobility, and soon all differences between the new Kings and Priests, and the descendants of those that had once filled these offices, were reconciled; the Sadducees now became the new courtiers, the nobility of the new Court, and the latter clung to the nobility, the party which was powerful by its hereditary dignity. Thus a serious conflict between the Sadducees and Pharisees began; the reigning dynasty vacillated, but on the whole, yielded to the designs of the nobility.

It was a politico-religious struggle that had broken out between the Sadducees and Pharisees, so that the chasm widened more and more; a politico-religious struggle, in which we are hardly able to discriminate, as far as that period is concerned, which element predominated, the political, or the religious. The chief point of difference with the Pharisees was this, that they would not have the holiness of the priesthood placed in the foreground; a verse in the Second Book of Maccabees which belongs to that period,

most distinctly expresses this sentiment, saying: "*Unto all* are given the heritage, the kingdom, the priesthood and the sanctuary." According to the opinion of the Pharisees, all the people should be regarded as priestly and holy; true, there existed especial priestly functions and precepts which could not be touched; but all the people should rise to sanctification, to a like priestly holiness. Hence, aggravating laws were created, ordinances that should accomplish, as much as possible, an approach to the priests. If the precepts concerning cleanliness and uncleanliness were intended for the priests, all the people should observe them with careful attention; if certain ablutions were commanded for the priests for their holy sacrificial ministrations, all the people should prepare themselves with the same ceremonies for their ordinary repasts, "profane fruit with the holiness of the Sanctuary." If the Temple was the exclusive abode of the priests, in which they exercised their sacrificial functions; if the sacrificial repasts constitute a religious act affording to the body of the priests an opportunity to assemble together, the people now had their side-temples, with Synagogues, which, though not intended to supplant

the national Sanctuary, should, nevertheless, change into popular Temples; they, too, had their common repasts which should receive similar consecration. Their repasts were consecrated by ablutions, to make them holy meats; wine represented the drink offerings, and even frankincense should not be wanting. The holiness of these repasts was yet heightened by prayers, and thus every man became, to a certain extent, a priest. Thus, then, the design of the Pharisees to acquire the character of priests called the great institution of Houses of God into existence. The institution of Prayer is a fruit of that design which, it is true, now and then exhibited a character of narrow-mindedness, but yet contained many healthful and vigorous elements, so that it produced also healthful and vigorous creations. On the other hand, many ceremonies were introduced which were burthensome in life, and of which some are still observed, and some flitting about as shadows. For instance, the ceremony of bidding farewell to the departing Sabbath with wine and spices, is a remnant of that ancient popular desire to observe priestly practices. Whenever religion and the cause of the people claimed determined consideration, the Sadducees and Pharisees came into

conflict. The Pharisees succeeded in getting into their hands the management of all those institutions that were of great influence upon the popular life. Thus, the arrangement of the national calendar, and the judicial power were taken away from the priests, and the People, the Learned, succeeded in getting them into their hands. We have said "*the People*," "*the Learned*;" for the names of "Pharisees" and "Sadducees" were used more by their respective opponents, than by the parties themselves. The Sadducees themselves adopted the name of "*the Sons of the families of rank*," "of the Highpriests;" whereas their antagonists called them "*Sadducees*," which name, however, conveys no designation of contempt, but was merely intended for a family-name in opposition to the claims of the nobility; thus also the Separatists called themselves "*the Learned*" "*the Members of the Society*," who advocated self-sanctification; their opponents designated them by the ancient name of "*Pharisees*," which name, again, was no expression of disgrace, but merely ignored their claims to especial learning and social sanctity. Only later times sought to stamp this name with the stain of ignominy.

Thus, then, a mighty breach had been created

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in Israel; this breach naturally widened and produced mighty internal revulsions.

LECTURE VIII.

THE SADDUCEES AND PHARISEES. THE FUTURE WORLD.—HILLEL.

THE difficulty surrounding the description of a past age according to its deepmost moving and impelling causes being sufficiently great in itself, is increased especially when we are without cotemporary records,—the very existence of which might afford us an insight into the spiritual development, the ruling ideas and views of that time,—when only works of a later time are at our command to afford us information of the ideas, aspirations and events of an earlier age. For, after all, even the most faithful records of later times view circumstances and events from their own standpoint, color them with partiality either involuntarily or intentionally, or misrepresent things from want of a true conception of the past. When insignificant periods

are presented to our consideration hidden behind a misty veil, we perhaps might leave them to a hoarding scholar, to bold, combinative criticism. But even such periods sometimes give shape to a long line of centuries. Although we may know little of them, they have left deep traces behind; creations and events have left a lasting influence upon all times; and if we wish to gain a clear understanding of ourselves, of what we are and of how we have become such, it cannot be a matter of indifference for us, thoroughly to understand the source whence we have sprung, to know the very foundation whence the Present has grown. The ideas entertained, the events that happened in Judea two thousand years ago; the nature of the conflict between the Sadducees and Pharisees, and the results produced by that conflict exercised their effect upon later centuries, occupy an important place in the world's history,—exercise even to this day a decisive influence; partly we still adhere to them, partly we contend against them; now, they are the very foundation upon which we stand, and then again, they present those barriers within which we feel ourselves confined, and which we are striving to break down.

If we desire to gain a conclusive judgment con-

cerning the most important questions of the Past as well as of the Present, we must cease to grope in uncertain darkness while explaining that phenomenon in Judaism during the period of the Second Temple. It is high time that all fable and fiction about Sadducees and Pharisees should cease. On one hand, the Sadducees have been represented as *Philhellenists* who had placed themselves beyond the pale of Judaism, who had embraced new Grecian refinement, and had thus become entirely denationalized; as Epicureans, Sensualists, Worldlings, who neglected all religious interests; others again, misled by the homonymy of the names, went even so far as to take them for Stoics. But, in fact, they were for a time the very representative men of the Jewish national life, and *their* exertions likewise were directed towards fathoming the foundation of Judaism: they constituted the priestly nobility vested with power at that time, and formed the centre around which the various classes of the whole people gathered in groups, but which afterwards went down; as is often the end of those who, placed above the masses, strive to rise still higher, make their own persons and personal interests paramount to all others, will not devote their energies to the advancement of the

welfare of their people, and at last be pushed aside by the latter.

The name of the Pharisees, too, has assumed a false meaning in the memory of later generations; it was especially by the influence of another Religion that the Pharisees were regarded as narrow-minded, contracted men, who strained at a gnat, would indulge in outward worship, without being animated by true inward piety, as men devoid of more exalted, religious ideas. True, the Jews did not thus severely judge them, yet that worth which was actually innate in them would not be attributed to them. For, in reality, they constituted the very body of the people;—their exertions were directed toward the establishment of equal rights for all classes;—their struggle was one which is repeated in all times when great interests are at stake, a struggle against priestcraft and hierarchy, against the preferment of individual classes,—a struggle even for the truth, that outward qualities do not exclusively constitute a claim to higher worth, but that the prize belongs to inward, religious conviction. The means which they were compelled in many respects to employ, seem, at first sight, not to bear out the views expressed by us; yet, when examined more deeply, they fully

correspond with them. To oppose the priests, they were compelled to claim for all every thing that distinguished the priesthood; they would not assign higher duties to others, lest they were obliged to ascribe to them also higher distinction. We are—thus they said—as holy, occupy the same exalted position, as you. Let us suppose a case, that some later generation received the superficial information, that once upon a time a struggle had arisen, whether it should be the duty of all classes of the people to defend their country, and that even those who in former times had been exempted therefrom now were foremost in their determination no longer to leave that duty to the nobility, the Knights, who had hitherto exclusively staked their lives and fortunes for the security of their common country; might not some think they were bullies who were anxious to fight, not satisfied that others should settle all feuds for them? Would such a judgment be just? Certainly not! The classes who enjoyed that negative privilege, the privilege of "masterly inactivity," now present themselves with the assertion: We are alike children of our country, we have the same rights and the same duties, you must fulfill no higher duties, to claim, in consequence, superior

privileges, to represent yourselves as the pillars of the Commonwealth—we are equally ready to bring the same sacrifices. The same sentiment gave birth to the struggle of the Pharisees against the Sadducees, and was the motive power of their readiness to submit to the same priestly burdens.

This serious, incisive struggle was not seldom carried on with insufficient means; a phenomenon which is likewise often repeated in history. The aspiring bear within them the full power of the Idea, but are unable to realize it. As it was, the Sadducees formed the aristocracy; they held all offices; they were either priests themselves and after all, still respected, or connected with the priestly families; they basked in the favor of the Court which now and then, that is, whenever it was necessary, went hand in hand with the Pharisees, but, after all, felt comfortable only in the atmosphere of the Sadducees. As it was, the Sadducees had actual possession and were bound, partially to retain it; for with whatever determination the struggle of the Pharisees was directed against certain privileges of the Priesthood, as far as it touched political life and legal rights, they could not altogether abolish it, history had established its right of existence, and as long as Sacrifices and

the Temple remained, their ministers could not be removed. In such times when the result of a struggle does not appear secured, when the combatants act with all determination, behold their victory near at hand, and yet commence to despair thereof, men will turn their eyes towards the future.

Healthful times, healthful nations are thoroughly conscious of their spiritual power, they feel the infinity and eternity of the spirit even in the present; vigorous, spiritual energy is so strong that, superior as it is to all that is finite, it requires no additional guaranty for itself. Healthful times, healthful nations will never arrive at the supposition that the spirit is but a weak decoction, a mixture of changing matter, of nervous fluid and blood-globules; they are conscious of their spiritual independence, of the convincing power wherewith it is endowed,—of the distinct and separate existence of the spirit. And for this reason, they do not continually think of the future, do not indulge in dreams as to what may be in time to come; it is even in the present that they bear within them the strength of the spirit with its convincing power; to them, every minute is an infin-

ity containing the germs of development for all later times. Such times and such nations look upon the future as upon the natural result of the present, well knowing that, whatever moves and animates it, will and must be realized at some time to come, being to them as something already existing in the spirit. Morbid men, morbid times or Religions incessantly think of the future, place it upon the foreground. From the present, in which they lack the energy to realize their ardent wishes, they take refuge in the future, a natural transition to which they are unable to find, and for which they long the more fervently, and which they picture to themselves with the more brilliant embellishments. "It will be otherwise," is their continual consolation; the weaker their present confidence, the bolder the poetic imageries of a brilliant future.

Judaism knows no such weakness, it is deeply and fully convinced of an independent spiritual life; it regards man's likeness to God, impressed upon him by the Divinity Himself, as none other than a spiritual attribute. The directness with which it speaks of a spiritual power, both of the spiritually living God and of man as living through the spirit, this profound conviction permeating all

its writings, is a guaranty for the Jewish belief, that the spirit is everlasting and can never be cut off. But it does not place this belief in the foreground, it has not designated this earth as a valley of tears, or pictured the reward to come beyond the grave in brilliant colors; it has never commanded us to destroy this earth as something vain and sinful; it has never demanded that earthly life should be nipped because it is but a time of probation. Judaism does not know this morbid sentimentality.

That it contains the belief in the immortality of the soul and further developes it, is proven even by the subtle author of *Koheleth;* true, he expresses his doubts concerning this subject as he does with regard to other matters; but even the fact that he does utter such doubts proves that the belief had been generally adopted: "The spirit of man tends towards above; dust returneth unto dust as it was, but the spirit returneth unto God who gave it." And thus this belief affords strength, ennoblement and inspiration without deadening and suppressing the present.

But times had arrived when the present was very gloomy, when men could no longer feel satisfied with what it afforded. They contemplated

their own exertions and the opposition actually raised against them; they contemplated their means wherewith their own exertions should be realized and were compelled to acknowledge their insufficiency. It is but natural that in such times men will say to themselves: "Be not dismayed! whatever may not be fulfilled in the present, will assume form and shape in later days. There must come another time, even in this world, and then all conditions will be changed at once." "The priesthood,"—thus the Pharisees exclaimed, "will go down, a descendant of the house of David will reign, the people will be invigorated, the national life will bring the fruits after which we long, to maturity; *another* world will come, and we, too, shall participate in it." They were not satisfied with the mere hope that the future would bring to light what the hot air of the present had begotten; they themselves desired to participate in the enjoyment of the future, because they had enjoyed nothing in the present. This is the foundation of the belief in a future *Resurrection of the Body.* This belief, it is true, existed also in Palestine, and Jews may have become acquainted with it, during their sojourn in Persia; traces of an earlier period cannot be discovered; the book of Daniel

is the first that makes mention of it, and this book dates even from the time when the internal severe struggle took place. Granted also that this belief, being a part of Parseeism, affected Judaism, the latter would never have adopted it, if it had not been impelled thereto by its internal development. Even the Pharisees, the very men who struggled for a change of circumstances, but did not succeed, could not help creating for themselves a future as the realization of their present desires. The Sadducees, on the other hand, satisfied with their power, not wishing for a change, nay, even contending against it, repudiated also, for that very reason, the belief in the resurrection of the body. Whether they can be condemned on that account as unbelievers, is a question, which I may confidently leave to your own decision rather than to that of many tribunals.

Thus the struggle between the Sadducees and Pharisees grew hotter and hotter, both in the domain of Civil Life and Religion, dominated all thought and sentiment. The more serious and gloomier the aspect of affairs grew, the more intense became the differences; the threatening crisis into which the nation was thrust, challenged

all healthful, popular energy; as at the time of the Maccabean war, when oppression threatened from abroad, the people arose: so also in the subsequent history of Judaism. Conflicts of the most various kinds raged within, even in the royal family; the several sons of a deceased king, succession not being fully regulated, presented themselves as pretenders, contended against each other; foreign nations were appealed to for their decision, for their assistance for the one or the other. This increased the discontent with the present, and its representatives. That true, religious sentiment was not, nevertheless, extinct in the hearts of the noble-minded during these strifes, may be shown by the following instance. During the contest of two pretenders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the adherents of one of them, and among these the priests had fortified themselves in the Temple, and their adversaries laid siege to the building. Both parties were filled with the most rabid party spirit. Among the besiegers there was a pious man by the name of *Onias*, known in the Talmud as *Choni ha-Meaggel*—to whose prayer especial efficacy was ascribed; wherefore, he was called upon to pray for the victory of the besiegers and the defeat of the besieged. But he prayed: "Lord

of the Universe, Heavenly Father! within the Temple are Thy priests, sons of Thy people; out here are likewise sons of Thy people; they are enraged against each other, do not hearken unto the prayers of those against these, nor unto the imprecations of these against those!" The people stoned him to death. This man was the child of true Jewish spirit, a man who can be numbered among the noblest martyrs. Inspired by true love of man and country, he remains faithful to his conviction even in the very face of death. He would not desecrate his speech in spite of the rage and indignation frowning upon him. Whether that noble martyr when he breathed his last, did not utter the prayer: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they are doing!" Legend does not inform us; for it is only Legend that can feel such things—the words of a dying man are heard by no one—his sentiments were surely of that character.

But the fierceness of these conflicts soon increased into a question of existence. A nation enters upon the world's stage which soon gained the greatest power, and exercised the most decisive and authoritative influence everywhere. The lion is regarded as belonging to the cat family.

Indeed, Rome was a lion. At first she crept along cunningly and pleasantly, acted the part of a mediating ally, then to pounce upon those that should be her friends, usurping in the beginning supremacy over them, and then degrading them into complete subjection. When Rome commenced her *cat-lion* game with Judea, the people felt that a mighty foe was approaching; alarming restlessness seized upon their minds; the party contests grew more violent and more general. Herod was hated, feared as a tyrant and stranger, yet his good qualities might perhaps have concealed his vices from the eyes of the people; his power would have imposed; but the fact that he appeared as a satellite of Rome, that he continually looked to Rome for favors, and thence acquired them, stamped him forever as a stranger, kindled again and again the popular hate against him.

In such times like these, men appear who reflect the very soul of the nation, and mean to give it shape and form.

I shall mention to you a name which, it is true, history has not surrounded with the same halo as it has many other names, although it deserves that its great importance should be known and appre-

ciated. As the Revealed Doctrine is connected with the name of Moses, Tradition with that of Ezra, thus Regenerated Judaism is identified with the name of *Hillel.* The Talmudists, in their *naive* narrative, have well understood and characterized the importance of Hillel, saying: "The Torah had been forgotten, then came Ezra from Babylon and established it anew; and again the Torah came into oblivion, when Hillel arrived from Babylon and established it anew." It was certainly not forgotten in Hillel's days, but it was paralyzed; it would have lost its vital energy, its influence upon later development, if Hillel, the man of profound understanding and true religious life, had not effected its regeneration. It may be that the Babylonian Gemara emphasizes with some directness the fact that Ezra and Hillel had come from Babylon,—for the Teachers of the Babylonian Talmud made much of Babylon, despite the oppression which they had to suffer there also;—this fact also may contain a truth: that even such men who had not been the children of the actual conditions of Palestine, who had breathed a foreign atmosphere, had perhaps witnessed great events—that even such men were especially fit to awaken the new popular spirit. Be this as it may! Hillel

was a man who exercised a decisive influence upon Judaism.

Hillel is a fully historical person: the records concerning him may be surrounded with many an embellishing legend,—but these legends present a clearer picture of him; they do not conceal his portrait. Legends accompany every distinguished man, even in the most historical ages; anecdotes, piquant tales and events are related of him, that cannot stand the test of historical investigation; but they are the conclusions drawn from his character, so that we must acknowledge, that though they have no foundation in reality, they are, nevertheless, in perfect harmony with his character. Legends of this kind are no fiction, they are the product of true poesy;—the inmost depth of the heart of such a man is fathomed, pearls are brought up thence which have been indeed found there, but had not, by chance, been brought forth before to the light of day; the sharp contour of his picture becomes thereby the more perceptible. As a poet, though he does not render history with complete fidelity, nevertheless portrays his hero faithfully, adding one thing and changing another, and thus affords us a clearer and fuller insight into his inmost nature; so does Tradition, sound, pop-

ular Tradition, treat characters, who have taken a marked place in history, so that Legend must lean most closely upon them, unable to deface their physiognomy. It is true, Legend changes the whole character of others, embellishes them with adornments of miracles, covers them with her whole stock of tinsel; but the more miraculous Legend appears, the less credible she is, the more does she conceal the real character; the more insignificant does the historical person appear in her glorification. If a true character had been presented in very sharp outlines, Legend could not surround it with her direct contradictions, could not deface its distinct traits. Such is not the case with Hillel. May be, that some legends have been connected also with his life, but these are in complete accordance with his character; no miracles are related of him; he continues a man, a healthful, whole, human being;—he should be no more, and for that very reason he is the greater.

He is represented as a disciple of Shemaya and Abtalyon. Being a very poor youth—thus it is related—he was once unable to pay the janitor the small fee which was demanded of those desiring admission. It was a cold winter day; he climbed up to the window of the lecture-room in order to

hear the discourses of the Teachers; and there he lay regardless of what happened around him; the snowflakes fell upon him, thick and fast, and covered him entirely. Stiffened with the cold he passed the whole night, and when in the morning the lecture-room was opened and daylight would not enter through that window, on examination being made, Hillel was discovered in a state of unconsciousness; he was carried into the house and brought to life again. We will pass no judgment on the truth of this narrative; if it be but a legend, it, nevertheless, keeps within the bounds of naturalness, intended to depict both his extraordinary zeal wherewith he devoted himself to study, and, at the same time, his great poverty. Of his poverty we are informed also in other instances; but although he was not surrounded by the good things of this life, he preserved his independence; and even because he was of the humble classes, he had a heart for the masses and their wants.

Of all his virtues his meekness is especially praised. This trait of his character was generally known, and two men entered upon a wager, one of them taking upon himself to rouse Hillel to anger. Shortly before Sabbath, he went three

times to him and asked him the most childish questions. Hillel went up to him and answered his questions in the most quiet manner. When the man, upon his third attempt, perceived that he had failed, he exclaimed violently; "May there be not many in Israel like thee!" whereupon Hillel said: "Why, my son?" "Why," replied the former, "through thee I have lost a large wager." "Well," said Hillel, "it is better that thou shouldst lose thy wager than I my calmness and humility." —Proselytes applied to him as well as to Shamai; Shamai was his elder and superior; clinging more to traditions and following old beaten tracks, he was made chief and would be first addressed. Once a proselyte came to Shamai, saying: "I desire to embrace Judaism upon the condition that I shall be made a high-priest." Shamai sent him rudely away. He then applied to Hillel who said to him: "My son, let us try." He gave him instruction; soon they came to a passage treating of the priests, where it was said of those not descended from priests, that they could not enter certain parts of the Sanctuary under penalty of death. Then the proselyte said to himself: "If not all native-born Israelites are permitted to exercise priestly functions, how could I do it?" And he withdrew his

condition.—Another applied to be initiated into Judaism upon the condition, that he should be instructed in its tenets during the brief space of time that he could stand upon one foot. Shamai refused him harshly; he then went to Hillel, who said to him: "My son, listen; the essence of Judaism is: whatever is displeasing unto thee do not unto others; this is the foundation and root of Judaism, the rest is commentary; go and learn." This man was fully won for Judaism, nay, well prepared for it.—A third came, saying: "I wish to embrace Judaism; you offer the Written Law, the Bible, I will accept it; but I do not wish to have anything to do with another law which has been but orally transmitted to you. Shamai sent him rudely away, but when he applied to Hillel, the latter received him kindly, at once commenced his instruction and taught him on the first day, the order of the letters; but on the second, he read them to him in reversed order. "How is this, my teacher?" asked the proselyte, "yesterday I heard the letters in a different order." "Behold!" replied Hillel, "yesterday you believed in the order adopted by me; do further follow me in that which is not written down, but which is only a natural development of the other." These men became

disciples of Judaism, and, once meeting each other observed: "The harshness of Shamai well nigh drove us from the Sanctuary, but the suavity of Hillel has kindly initiated us into it."

Such tales afford us a full insight into the character of this man. If it should be supposed that, because he pointed out certain privileges of the priests according to Holy Writ, he was a friend of priests, it would be a great mistake. He yielded to that which could not be changed; but it was pre-eminently the case with him, that he carried on the contest against the priests with all determination, and narrowed down, most closely, the limits of their prerogatives. His representation of the foundation and essence of Judaism fully discloses the sentiment of the man; the essence of Judaism consists in love of man and mutual regard, in the respect for man's dignity and equality,—this is the foundation and root, all the rest is commentary. Do you, perchance, suppose, that Legend had borrowed, in this regard, a trait from the character of the author of another Religion and attributed it to Hillel? It would be in itself entirely unnatural to adopt maxims from another Religion, and this too, from a hostile daughter Religion, of which it boasts as its exclusive property;— it is far more

natural to contend against them and seek to demolish their worth. Besides, that maxim was not at all in keeping with the fixed laws of later times that they should have created it; on the contrary, it would have been an obstacle in their way. But aside from this, you gain a better knowledge of our Hillel, and you will see that that knowledge is in full accordance with his character. At an earlier date the canon had been established: whoever believes God to be allmerciful, allgood, regards also benevolence and love towards his fellows as a fundamental duty. Listen now, how our Hillel thinks of God. There are three different classes, among men, to wit: the fully pious, the intermediary, and the fully wicked. On some future day there will be a day of judgment for men; the fully pious will then at once enjoy their reward, the fully wicked receive their punishment,—but what will become of the intermediary? Of them the Academy of Shamai says; "They will first be sent into hell, given up to punishment, but will longingly look up and wail and gradually ascend."

"Not so!" says Hillel; "as regards the intermediary, He who is abundant in mercy will sink the scale unto mercy." Whoever entertains such an idea of God, holds man also in a more exalted

estimation, teaches also love for all mankind. That he uttered such a sentiment is in full accordance with his character, it is the fundamental principle of his whole being, it is no fiction. As regards a third point, that he defended Tradition, his very character affords the clue: he is a man of living, continuous development, he demands that life in its freshness should decide upon measure and form.

Hillel knows man according to his inner being, but no less according to the demands of life. He is wont to consult with his soul. He hastens, as the tale beautifully relates, from the house of learning, in order to attend to a dear guest. His disciples ask him: "Master, pray, who is the dear guest whom thou keepest in thy house from day to day?" "That guest," he replied, "is my own soul—during my intercourse with the world it must always be pushed back, but, nevertheless, it claims its right." This is true, profound introspection. But he was withal far from sentimentality and transcendentalism,—he conceived life in its freshness, beauty and importance. There existed a protracted conflict between the Academies of Shamai and Hillel. The adherents of the former maintained, in perfect accordance with their murky sentiments, that it would be far better for man not

to be born than to be born; the followers of the latter assert: "Well, we are born, therefore, let us be active and examine well our actions." "Energetically seize life," was Hillel's motto. Whenever Shamai found anything good during the week, he said: "Let it be preserved for the Sabbath." Hillel said; "Praised be God from day to day, this is a day on which I may rejoice through God's goodness, another also will afford it." He recognized the claims and mission of every age, and the difference of times afforded him the rule for his labors. "At a time," he used to say, "when they gather in, when they love to see every thing adorned with religious ceremonies, you may sow, let forms grow in luxuriant abundance; but at a time, when they sow, when they cast off these forms and ceremonies, then gather you in, be ready and willing to yield, desist from violent preservation, or even enlargement!"

This was the fundamental idea from which Hillel proceeded, as attested by all his works and speeches; Hillel presents the picture of a true *Reformer*,—this word will not profane him, it will be his nobility. He was met by the difficulties that presented themselves to rejuvenation and revival at that time; some may have exclaimed:

"Why wilt thou make changes? do but cling to that which is authoritative now, how canst thou usurp the right of innovation?" "If I work not myself," he replied, "who will work for me?" If only that which former times have produced, that which is already beyond my time should be binding, and I do not produce myself, who, besides me, can work for me?—"Well," thus others may have spoken, "keep it for thyself, thou mayest recognize it, think, act thou accordingly; but why wilt thou rise to introduce changes and reforms for all?" As though the idea was destined for an individual, to be locked up in a chest, to be looked at in due time; as though it were not a vital power ruling and propelling man, as the prophet expresses it: "there is a fire in my bones, I can not forbear, it must pour forth!" "If I am for myself alone," says Hillel, "what am I then?" Is it for myself that I desire something good, or is it the whole people that desires to be quickened?—"Desist, dear friend," thus others may again have cautioned him, "thou art too hasty." "If not now," he replied, "when then?" Every age creates, and must create, and if we mean to creep on in indolence, the future is killed in its very germ.—Such was Hillel, and that he labored in this manner, that he

was the man who dared to resist with determination all aggravations,—that he feared, by no means, the name of "the mitigator," all will clearly perceive who have once cast a glance into the history of Judaism. I shall not trouble you with details; but I shall adduce a few examples to show how he understood his time.

There is a biblical precept that, when a house situate in a city surrounded by a wall, has been sold, it can be redeemed by its former owner within a year; if he have neglected this redemption, the house remains the property of the purchaser. Usually the grantor waited till the last day of the year, on which he succeeded by all manner of means to procure the redemption money, lest he forfeited forever his ownership; the purchaser was thus forced to cede his right of property to the former owner. What then, did the purchasers do forever to secure their new property? The new proprietor went away on the last day of the year, locked the house, in order that the former owner should be unable to pay the redemption money and thus regain his property. The law existed, its letter was binding. "No," said Hillel, "the letter is not binding—in case the proprietor is not at home, let the door be

broken in, or the money be brought into the Temple; the lawful owner shall, by no means, lose his property, in consequence of the cunning used by the other party." Another far more decisive example is the following: Every seventh year there was release of debts, a precept born of the very tender spirit of Judaism, but naturally intended only for the times during which the life of the people was surrounded by very simple and sober conditions. At such times, only those borrow money who are in real want;—to assist these, is an act of pure charity;—and under such circumstances the law of the year of release is a very beautiful one: *the time has expired, the debt is cancelled.* But in latter times, borrowing and lending were by no means merely the result of want on the one hand, and of pure magnanimity on the other; men borrowed for business purposes, to have ready means for carrying on trade; men would not lend from mere charity; at best they would do so as a favor, but soon to get a portion of the profits. Now, if the debtor had an opportunity in the seventh year to get rid of his debts, what must needs be the consequence? That which Holy Writ apprehended; there was no longer any one willing to lend money, because it was

known that at a certain time the right of remanding the loan would be extinguished, because the year of release cancelled all debts. How could this be remedied? What do I care, said uncompromising stability; the thing is written down, you must yield to the law. "No," said Hillel, "shall all business intercourse be checked, because the defrauder covers himself with the mantle of the law? Shall the poor starve, because fear of great loss fetters the hands of the rich—and all this caused by Religion? No—this thing must be remedied! Henceforth the contracts may be executed before the Courts, with the condition, that the year of release shall not cancel the debt; and this condition shall be binding." "But this is in contravention to Holy Writ." "May be; but when we cling to the letter thereof, all morality will be lost; whether anything be written or not· life decides." And Hillel's decision was acquiesced in.

Such was the man—thus he became a Restorer or Reformer of Judaism, and his influence continues to this day. He had no opinion of secluse piety: "seclude not thyself from thy fellowmen," he used to say; do not pretend to be preeminently pious; to forsake others as renegades,

and bask in the sun of exclusive piety, is immoral. He had no opinion of hermitical piety—he was a man of life, and strengthened and elevated in all possible manner the life of Judaism.

How times might have further shaped themselves, if the quiet development of Judaism had thus continued its course, is superfluous to conjecture. Quiet development was not granted to it; great events happened; two events which taken together, it is true, do not yet constitute the heart and central point of the history of the world, but which, at all events, produced great revolutions; I mean: the birth of Christianity and the dissolution of the Jewish Commonwealth.

LECTURE IX.

THE SECTS.—ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

If it be in itself a difficult task to show how the spirit of Religion has descended into mankind and taken root therein; to unclose the mysterious ways through which its development has passed; to point out the various formations whereby it manifested itself in the chances and changes of external historic life, and yet, at the same time, not to lose sight of the unity of the Religious Idea: the difficulty of such a task is greatly enhanced, when, in reviewing history, we have arrived at a turning-point which is followed by most searching consequences, and with which a world-historic reformation begins. Even the various impelling and moving powers which co-operate to introduce, as it were, a new creation into the world, are at work at such a depth that they are concealed from our view, and manifest

themselves only through their external effects. From insignificant beginnings, limited at first within a narrow circle, a new spiritual power has all at once developed itself; and we must follow it through its various issues, examine how its paths cross each other and are met by circumstances and conditions which favored that development. And here still another difficulty presents itself. Historical events, which have turned into deepest convictions, which are regarded by some as the very life's nerve of their own minds, and, at the same time, of the spiritual motion of the history of the world, as its very aim and centre, and worshipped as the Holiest of Holies, challenge our attention; whereas, on the other hand, the protest, which is raised now aloud, and then again through intentional silence, is no less determined, and has its root, as it were, in the very opinion concerning human life. Now, every one who perceives the moving of the Divine Spirit in the grand course of the history of the world, will adore also the working of God in a world-historic event that has produced its reformatory effects upon all conditions; in a faith that has kept, for at least fifteen centuries, the civilized world under its sway; he will, with reverence, examine into a

religion by which millions have been, and still are, quickened and inspired. And, though he does not, nevertheless, join in the conviction that this historical event should be venerated as the spiritual centre of all world-historic existences; that an entirely new spiritual creation had been called into life; that it had illumined the world with new ideas never before felt or conceived; that thenceforth it had become the prop and pillar of a new universal edifice, the vigorous root of a new spiritual life: he will feel himself irresistibly called upon to justify his opposition, and to explain how he does interpret the peculiarity of those events. But, on the other hand, he must be permitted to utter, though modestly, yet unreservedly, his own opinion, without fearing that a word might escape his lips which would sound unpleasantly to one side or another. Whoever respects in himself free, honestly acquired convictions, and claims the right to freely express his own opinion, honoring true manly courage displayed even in such a free expression, will not, it is hoped, deny the same right to others, but quietly receive the utterance of an independent conviction, however much it may militate against his own.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A grand world-historic event occurred, and, before we proceed, we must once more vividly place before our eyes the state of the world, especially as far as Judaism was affected by it. There was a strong, partially very sound commotion of the spirits within Judea. The reformatory labors of Hillel had freed the spirits from the narrow-minded desire to clothe themselves in the garb of priesthood in their struggles against priestcraft; Phariseeism had entered upon a phase of development, wherein it suffered itself to be permeated by the true spirit of Judaism, although, as is the case with all such movements toward Reform, a certain indecision still ruled the day. Priestcraft and Temple-service still retained their importance, although they were decaying; the elevation of man to free and independent religiousness had not yet reached that high point from which the eye could turn, free and untrammelled, through the wide space of the Divine-Human, creating and reforming the outward form while ruling the innermost convictions. Reform was ardently sought; still it was to be effected by closely connecting it with existing forms and views; and so far it did succeed. Continual working in this wise would certainly have carried Judaism to higher

developments. Phariseeism was a sound limb on the body of Judaism, and proved itself as such also at that time. Its adherents were zealous patriots, and, at the same time, seriously devoted to the study and practice of Judaism. Yet, with all their efforts to preserve the national and political life, to fortify the customs and independence of their country, they were, nevertheless, men who disliked all revolution, and exerted themselves to moderate all inconsiderate zeal. They had entered, as it were, into the innermost part of the political life; their chiefs had gradually acquired that distinction as to have a weighty voice in the council of the nation by the side of the high-priests, the leaders of the Sadducees, to pronounce their decisive judgment concerning both political and civil affairs; and it could now be seen that they themselves, formerly the men of bitter opposition, weighed with prudent circumspection the means at their hands, and well estimated the powers which they had to employ. Even Josephus, the partial court-historian of that time, is forced to acknowledge, while speaking of the man who stood at the head of the Pharisees during the period of the Jewish war—Simon ben Gamaliel, grandson or great-grandson of Hillel, who was no personal

friend of Josephus, but even opposed him in his measures because he suspected him—even Josephus is forced to concede, that Simon ben Gamaliel was a man alike of determined energy and the most circumspect prudence, a man who studiously sought to prevent the people from committing excesses, who by no means approved the foolhardy enterprises which shall yet present themselves to our attention. Thus the Pharisees, though powerfully impelled by religious hopes for the future, were, nevertheless, pre-eminently conservative, energetic champions of their own time.

But at a time, as the one under consideration, men of such stamp, though they preserved their authority, could, nevertheless, not satisfy the people in any way whatever. Rome knocked at the gates of Jerusalem with an iron hand, to lay it heavily upon the neck of the nation; the distant roll of thunder had been heard long before the storm burst forth in its full terror. There is a beautiful saying of our ancient teachers still extant: "Forty years before the Temple had been destroyed, its gates opened and could no more be closed." Be this as it may, at all events, these words convey the idea that even a generation before the catastrophe actually took place, all eyes

were turned towards it with alarm, and the conviction was established: "A desperate struggle will come; that struggle must be fought out though it be a fruitless one." In such times, the people will not regard a prudent moderation as a virtue; it chooses quite different men for its favorites, men who will come forward with burning zeal, with a fervor of faith and patriotism bordering upon raving madness, in whose eyes every means is just, as long as it leads to the accomplishment of the object in view; men who, without reflecting whether or not the means adopted will be sufficient, without regarding what the result might be, will employ any means, as long as they correspond with the vehemence of their emotions, even though they may thereby accelerate the catastrophe. Such men did appear, and even their cotemporaries designated them by the fully characteristic name of *Kannaim, Zealots.* With their zeal for their faith, they nurtured an implacable hatred against tyrannical rule, against foreign influence. On account of the insufficiency of the means at their command, many of them unhesitatingly employed even such as justifiable, which would have been indignantly refused in more peaceful times. Therefore, they were called also

Sicarioi; they carried a dagger concealed beneath their cloaks and secretly slew every one, that pronounced the word *moderation* and thus gave rise to the sūspicion of having sold himself to the enemy as a traitor. Their connections were so numerous, the people were so much attached to them, that the legal authorities would not dare to lay hands upon them. Taken in this sense, revolts occurred. Judah of Gaulonitis, a Galilean, proclaimed it as a crime, as rebellion against religion, to obey the earthly empire, in any wise to yield to the worldly rule exercised by a foreign country. "There is but one kingdom," was his motto, "it is the heavenly kingdom, the kingdom of God. When the power of the country, the God-believing power is broken, and bows before heathen unbelief, then is the world moved from its foundation; it must go to ruin. It is our duty not to yield to this worldly power." "To touch a piece of money with the picture of the Roman Emperor upon it, was a sin in his eye; to pay taxes to the foreigner, was a crime; to draft contracts according to the then usual form, under this or that Consul or Procurator, appeared to him as blasphemy, as treason against his country." "How," said a Galilean apostate, as our ancient

teachers relate, "how can you Pharisees pretend to be pious? You write in contracts the name of the ruler by the side of that of Moses, beginning, 'In the year of the Emperor,' and concluding, 'According to the law of Moses and Israel'; if the name of the unbeliever is in this manner incorporated in contracts, can you call that piety?" It is true, that Pharisees rebuked such exaggerations; but the new impulses found a lasting echo among the people, causing new revolts and formations of new sects. Josephus really represents the adherents of the said Judah of Gaulonitis as a fourth sect, by the side of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and a third, the Essenes; the last we shall also briefly consider. In the same sense another sectarian leader, *Theudas*, acted afterwards; he, too, hailed from Galilee, stirred up revolts, and found many enthusiastic adherents. That the leaders were crucified did not injure their authority; their sentiments only spread the more widely.

This feeling which then prevailed in Judea, bursting forth in deeds of wild fanaticism, rested upon an ancient spiritual foundation that increased more and more in strength and intensity. Even at the time when the Maccabean war had com-

menced, an idea had generally spread, which firmly rested in full security of the national faith, though accompanied by the desperate assurance that it could not then prevail. This idea took form in the exclamation, "The world is breaking up, the future world must soon come!" In the Book of Daniel, who describes these events in the form of a vision, the mighty powers who rise against the saints of the Most High are described in their full terror; but, at the same time, he encourages the timid, saying, "A son of man shall then arise, hidden in the clouds of heaven; all empires shall bow to him, all peoples yield in obedience to him, and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake and rise up, some to everlasting life and others to everlasting shame." Now, this world is in itself completely destroyed; a future one, not beyond, but on this earth, shall appear, in which also the ancient saints, now rising up, shall participate. The Kingdom of God, or the Heavenly Kingdom, as Daniel likewise calls it, shall come. It is true, the Maccabees did not appear as such sons of man, hidden in clouds of heaven; they were warriors, and ended as victors; nor was the end pointed out in the visions arrived at; the nations did not obey

them, the empires did not yield to them, but Judea had become independent. An end had been obtained for the considerate and energetic—and those hopes for the future disappeared, as it were, from the scene. But, again, a time had appeared that witnessed spoliations and devastations, and betokened even greater evils; again, a still more powerful enemy pressed upon Israel with far more effective oppression; again it was intended to break not only the national power of the Jews—nay, this was already broken—but also their inner, spiritual life was to be extinguished. It was intended again to render the worship of images and idols a home-institution in Judaism; the Emperors were to be adored as gods, as *Divi*, their statues set up in the national Temple. Even the Roman standards, adorned with the picture of the Roman eagle, whose flight was contemplated and watched, appeared to the Jews to be of idolatrous significance. Why, these eagles were ordered even to grace the Temple, and their removal was punished with death! Then despair again seized the minds of the people; their religious sentiment was so powerful, ruled all conditions of life, had grown in intensity, and yet it should be suppressed in practical life. Then it

was that that ancient thought. which had been kept back only for a short time, reappeared in its full force on the foreground: the Heavenly Kingdom shall and must come, this world is given up to evil, it is a world of heathenism and doomed to destruction; let it perish; the future world will soon follow; the Heavenly Kingdom appears, the pious rise up again, and theirs shall then be the kingdom. Will you hear the word of a zealot, or rather of the son of zealot of a later day, as it has been preserved for us by our ancient teachers? He pronounced it, saying, "Whoever takes upon himself the yoke of the Law, shakes off the yoke of the empire and the yoke of civil authority; but whoever shakes off the yoke of the Law, upon him shall be the yoke of the kingdom of this world and the yoke of all civil ordinances." Only the Law, the faithful observance of the religious statutes, shall and must rule, and when the Law rules, the whole artificial political structure will fall; all those organizations that keep the political life together, unless Religion prescribes them, are superfluous, and shall vanish; but as soon as you shake off the yoke of the Law, the easy, sweet yoke, then you must bear the whole pressure of the heavy yoke of this world. Therefore,

away with it, and seriously cling to the Law! These thoughts filled the hearts—these hopes were contemplated with the most decided confidence.

There were also timid and tender-chorded hearts that did not join in the energetic furor, or in the elated hopes, and gratified their pious longing in seclusion through hermitical asceticism; these were the *Essenes*, the third sect mentioned by Josephus. They exercised no influence upon the changing conditions of the Commonwealth, yet found favor and won favorites; they were regarded as invested with the power of working miracles, and were revered on account of their quiet, pious practices. The Essenes, generally speaking, did not differ greatly from the Pharisees. They, too, belonged to the civilians; they, too, were not at all on a friendly footing with the aristocracy and the priests; they are even said to have repudiated animal sacrifices; but, (and this far more than the Pharisees, nay, almost in opposition to them) they shunned as much as possible all contact with the world at large, secluding themselves, as it were, in the innermost sanctuary of their hearts, gratifying their spiritual wants by mystical contemplation. They regarded the world

and its affairs with indifference; they are even said (the only authority concerning them is the very unreliable Josephus) to have espoused celibacy, community of goods, &c. They were regarded, therefore, as workers of miracles, as prophets, and gained extensive fame and adherents, but, of course, without exerting any influence upon the development of events.

Such was the state of feeling in Judea.

Whatever found expression and shape in the innermost centre of the kingdom, found also not alone its echo, but even its peculiar form, in the outermost limits of the country; and these outermost limits were Galilee. Galilee was separated from Judea only by Samaria, inhabited, from the very inception of its development, by a mixed people, so that it was even called "the land of the nations," surrounded by Syrians and Phœnicians, and, in a great measure, also containing a foreign population. You have no doubt read in a recent work a very glowing description of Galilee, representing it as a highly fruitful, picturesque country, in which pleasant plains are varied by verdant hills, whose soil furnishes everything that may excite the desire of man; its inhabitants are un-

sophisticated children of nature, harmless ignorant men, and lovely ignorant women following an enthusiastic youth with innocent love. We learn not whether this love is directed more to the person or the cause which he represents. I am sorry that I must demolish this fascinating idyl. It is true, Galilee was a fruitful country; it was intersected by rivers and mountains, and presented an abundance for the gratification of all physical wants; its inhabitants were indeed ignorant; their language was corrupt and mixed, which had obliterated its peculiar character and adopted foreign elements. Hence, the character of the people was not as thoroughly finished as that of the inhabitants of Judea. But this ignorance was by no means an idyllic life of quietude. On the contrary, it was blended with a certain degree of savageness. The revolutionists before mentioned, those who sought to do away with their adversaries by fire and sword, by dagger and other secret means, hailed mostly from Galilee. Young Herod, even at a period preceding the one under consideration, gave the first proofs of his character in Galilee. He had executed judgment upon a band of robbers in that province with relentless severity, but it must be conceded that necessity demanded

this course. It is true, he was indicted therefor; but his power, although at that time he was only governor of Galilee under his father Antipater, the representative of Hyrcanus, had even then become so great that the Sanhedrim did not dare pass judgment against him. Yet, it is certain, that there was cause for an extraordinary proceeding. In Galilee a spirit had spread, such as generally takes hold of that portion of a people, which only receives the general influences without being able clearly to account for its innermost moving convictions. The Galileans were, if I may be permitted to use the term, the *Marseillesians* of the Jewish struggle, of that commotion which surged so violently. It was in Galilee where the most violent and extreme movements found the fullest applause. As the Galileans were inclined to revolution, they were ruled, and wildly inflamed, so to say, by the idea that this world was breaking down, and a new one, the future world, would soon appear—an idea which visionaries who think less than they warmly feel, will always readily accept. It was there, undoubtedly, where John appeared exclaiming: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is near at hand." The Heavenly Kingdom is even the future world—the rule of piety

upon this earth, the destruction of all worldly ties, of the illegitimate reign of heathenism to which this world is given for a prey.

Thus the hearts were in full agitation, prepared for the most wonderful phenomena.

It was then that a man again appeared in Galilee who, still more confidently, gave shape to the commotion of the times; while others before him merely counselled preparation for the Heavenly Kingdom, promising that it would come—that a son of man wrapt in the clouds of heaven would appear—that a complete reformation would take place; while others represented themselves merely as prophets and proclaimers of this belief, bearing in their imagination that hope without giving it shape, he had the courage and confidence to state:—The time *is* fulfilled, the Heavenly Kingdom *is* come, and the son of man wrapt in the clouds of heaven—at first he did not distinctly utter it, but he bore this belief within him and suffered it to be manifest—"this son of man is no other than myself." It was not his mission to carry on a struggle against the kingdom of this world; the words attributed to him by a later narrator, "My kingdom is not of this world,"

may have fully corresponded with his belief. It means: My kingdom does not begin in this heathen world; but this world will soon have tumbled into ruins, and then the future world shall appear, actually and tangibly, and then my kingdom also shall commence. He was fully convinced thereof, and in all later times of deep oppression we meet with men who presented themselves with the same self-assurance as Messiahs. Should we perchance wonder that, at this time of general suspense, a bold and glowing enthusiasm for Judaism and its reign at large could completely possess an aspiring man—that he could be filled with the belief in himself—and that this belief vested him with the courage to utter such hopes with the fullest assurance? It was this that animated the first author of Christianity. He was a Jew, a Pharisean Jew with Galilean coloring—a man who joined in the hopes of his time, and who believed that these hopes were fulfilled in him. He did by no means utter a new thought; nor did he break down the barriers of nationality. When a strange woman came to him with the request to heal her, he said: "It is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to the dogs." He did not repeal the smallest tittle of Judaism;

he was a Pharisee who walked in the way of Hillel; though he did not set the most decided value upon every single external form, he yet proclaimed on the other hand, "that not the least tittle should be taken from the Law;" "the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, and whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." It is true that, if the accounts are faithful, he allowed himself to be carried away to trifling expressions concerning one subject or another, when he was opposed; but he never faltered in his original conviction. The replies which are narrated by the most faithful reporter—a completely faithful report can hardly be expected, but the one bearing the name of Mark is the most reliable—the answers, the temptations presented to him rest all on the basis which he occupied. The Sadducees took him to task concerning the resurrection which he distinctly emphasized with his proclamation of the appearance of the future world, of the Kingdom of Heaven. With the scornful question: "Moses wrote unto us, if a man's brother die, and leave his wife behind him, and leave no children, and raise up seed unto his brother;—now there were seven brothers, and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed; and the second took her and

died, neither left he any seed; and the third likewise; and the seven had her, and left no seed; last of all the woman died also—in the resurrection therefore, when they shall rise, whose wife shall she be?"—with this scornful question, cunningly calculated to meet his assertion of the speedy appearance of the future world, of resurrection, the Sadducees opposed him. He replied: "True, the future world shall appear, but there will be no more marrying nor giving in marriage." —When a Pharisee heard this and found that this answer was a good one, he asked: "Master, which is the first commandment of all?" and Jesus replied: "One is: 'Hear, O Israel, God is our Lord, God is One,' (this beginning of his answer is found only in Mark—the other Evangelists—a very significant hint!—have omitted it;) 'and thou shalt love God thy Lord, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy power. And a second equally important commandment is, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" He did not teach anything new. And the Pharisee replied: "Well, Master, thou hast said the truth—to acknowledge God as One, this is the highest commandment; to cleave to him with all fervor, and love one's neighbor truly, is better than burnt-offering and

all other sacrifices." The Pharisee had no objections whatever to raise, what he had heard entirely corresponded with his own convictions. The reply of the Pharisee is again reported by Mark alone;—the other, later narrators, shape it according to their ends in view.

If the author of Christianity is represented as having taught the specific doctrine: "God is a God of love and not of anger and vengeance," it is likewise a later interpolation which is not reported by the most faithful narrator. What could be added to the saying of Hillel: "The Merciful One inclineth the scale towards mercy!" If Jesus' utterances concerning the purely moral relations of men to each other are indeed faithfully reported, they either present nothing new, or whatever is new bears such a diseased character as belongs to a diseased age. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." was the utterance upon which the Pharisee replied: "Master, thou hast well answered." But Jesus is said also to have praised poverty and taught contempt of the world and everything that proceeds from this world;—to have repudiated cheerful participation in the affairs of this world. These doctrines, indeed, are not taught by Phariseeism; on the con-

trary, it establishes this principle: "This world is an ante-chamber for the future; prepare thyself well in the ante-chamber, that thou mayest appear well prepared in the reception-room." "One hour in the future world is sweeter than all enjoyments in this, but also one hour in this world spent in the study of the Law and the performance of good deeds, is better than all the pleasures in the future." If, indeed, this cheerful and energetic participation in the affairs of this world, undertaken with honesty and truth, is to be repudiated and everything earthly to be despised, it must be a morbid principle, unless it can be explained only by the belief, that the future world, completely different, was near at hand. If even pretended morality means to suppress every feeling of justice—if the doctrine should obtain: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also"—thou shalt not only suffer but even divest thyself of all sense of honor; and again: "If any one take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," if this be the new doctrine proclaimed by Jesus—*Jesus*, such was the name of the author of Christianity, is the Greek for the term Josua, as also Josua, the son of Nun, is called Jesus by the Greek translators, so likewise Jesus Sirach—if

such is the new doctrine proclaimed by Jesus, then it is the fruit of an age in contradiction with itself, which perverts all order and destroys all notions of right; or it is the result of a transfer of a future, completely different world into that on this side of the grave.

Thus the first movement presented itself, not, however, exhibiting a new religion, but affording an impulse for it. It was the belief in the fulfilment of the Messianic hopes as taught by Pharisean Judaism, a belief prevailing at that time. Whatever else is related concerning the author of Christianity belongs to that class of myths which we have already endeavored to explain. Whenever a myth fails to depict an individual more distinctly—whenever it fails to draw its picture from the very inmost being of man and presents him to the world by glorifying him; but, on the contrary, so adorns him that he becomes entirely unrecognisable, far exalted beyond all individual distinctness; whenever it *volatilizes* him into a mere abstraction, then the myth is the product of the imagination, and continuing its exuberant growth, draws its creations from the dark incentives of the time, and surrounds them with an ever deepening darkness.

That this first author of Christianity found believing adherents was the natural effect of the condition of his time. At first, however, neither the educated nor the intelligent followed him. A small band, especially Galileans, who stood very low in society, and were pretty much despised by the best portion of the population—many of them mercenaries of the government, publicans that gathered the taxes for the hated worldly kingdom; they upon whom the whole weight of contempt rested, who were shunned on all sides; they, the low and vulgar, willingly joined the new prophet. "I am not come to heal the sound, I have been sent unto the sick," he said himself. And these sick were indeed gathered around him. It is true also, he no longer confined himself to these exiles from society; his fame spread widely, and he even ventured to move to the metropolis of the kingdom. But soon charges were raised against him. Here and there also he met approval, he was hailed with: "Hosanna, son of David,"—for he must needs be such a one, if he meant to be a Messiah; nevertheless, he was brought before a court, and we are not told, that a large number of followers were with him, otherwise it would have been dangerous to pronounce

judgment against him. The judgment was to be executed by the *procurator*. Pilate asked him: "Art thou the King of the Jews?" and he replied: "Thou sayest it." He did not deny it. According to a later report, he added: "My Kingdom is not of this world"—of course, but of the future which will soon come and appear. "Verily, I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God"—"there be many here who shall see it how the end of things shall be fulfilled." To Pilate the whole appeared as a strange, unintelligible enterprise, not important enough to demand his rigorous interference; but the people to whom he left it to pray for his release, according to an ancient custom, giving them the right to obtain pardon for a criminal before a Festival, repudiated all fellowship with him and refused their intercession. Thus a judgment was pronounced which could not have been different in a time of such commotion, which was rendered the more miserable by the proclamation of lying hopes—for such they were for those who did not believe in him—and perhaps even by the threatening attempt at revolution. He interfered with the religious convictions of his time; raised him-

self to a high eminence which was not accorded to him; represented the hope of the future as fulfilled and embodied in himself; pronounced a complete reform of all political conditions, and ignored the whole civil society of his time, though he stirred up no actual revolution. Under such circumstances, the verdict could not be otherwise; he was crucified, as Judah of Gaulonitis and his followers at a previous time. The adherents of Jesus at first were stunned at that issue, but not shaken in their belief. Of course, this world pursues its course, he also dies; the world must hate him; its powers will last but a short time longer; but the Heavenly Kingdom will come, then he will rise again—in him will the resurrection first be fulfilled to become a general one. This conviction, indeed! reigned even during his lifetime, it could not be shaken by his death;—on the contrary, it was natural that it had to appear more vividly in the foreground. He must rise again—he will surely rise again—and soon the assertion was arrived at: He *is* risen—he is gone to heaven and will appear again, wrapt in the clouds of heaven, at the time of the general resurrection, at the time when the Heavenly Kingdom shall appear. This course of development is a perfect-

ly natural one—there is nothing strange in it; his disciples see him, waiting from day to day for his glorious return.

This is the first foundation of the origin of Christianity, the germ whence the mighty tree sprang—the cause which was strengthened by other agencies producing this result, that the sect, feeble in its incipiency, gradually became a ruling power.

LECTURE X.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

Besides the various sects then existing within Judaism, besides the Sadducees, the Pharisees, with the profound commotion among them, the Essenes, the Kannaim, or Zealots, the followers of Judah of Gaulonitis, and many other minor factions which were found within the small territory of Judea—a proof of the deepest excitement of all energies, of a severe struggle both civil and spiritual—besides these various sects, now another arose upon the very soil of Pharisean Judaism: *that of the fulfilled Messiahship.* The translation of this term is even "*Christianity.*" Mashiah, the Anointed, was the King who was expected to inaugurate the future world, to work out, through the destruction of the whole ancient fabric of this world, those conditions in which God alone shall

be King, and the Heavenly Kingdom, or the Kingdom of God, proclaimed and introduced by that Messiah, shall enter upon its rule. Thus, the belief in the fulfilled Messiahship, or Christianity, presented itself with the assertion, that the Messiah had already appeared; that, it is true, he had died, had been compelled to die within this ancient world, but that he would rise again, that he had risen, and would soon re-appear in the clouds of heaven, to complete the establishment of the new world, to force the whole human race to submission under the Kingdom of God, and to call a new race into existence, even outside of the present civil laws, rent asunder and corrupted in themselves. It was a new sect which, standing within the pale of Judaism, and, this too, completely on the foundation of Jewish Phariseism, now arose.

The new feature of it was even this, that the event which all, or at least the greater portion of the Jewish people, regarded as something future, as something far distant in time, hence, as presenting but indistinct outlines, was now believed to be already fully accomplished, soon to appear in its fullest glory. *This was the first phase of Christianity.* This new sect could not receive

many adherents among the Jews, at least among those of Palestine. The old time was indeed a gloomy and hard one for the Jews; that the old world was doomed to perish, was a belief which afforded them comfort and fortitude; but that it had already perished, that a new world had already appeared, was a great step from imagination to reality, which the actual events most emphatically and peremptorily confuted. "No! the new world has not yet appeared, though we most fervently hope for it," was the general verdict. Besides, the minds were burthened with too many heavy cares to indulge in the visionary belief, that the future had actually come; every day brought new troubles; as often as the sun arose, it shone upon new struggles, and new hardships — all energies had to be employed, not to indulge in speculation and to strengthen a belief which converted ideals of the future into present realities, but, the present with its realities, its oppression and burthens, urgently claimed undivided attention. Thus, the belief in the actual fulfillment of the Messianic hope spread very little within the boundaries of Palestine. The historian of that time, Flavius Josephus, makes no mention whatever of the author of the new sect, and the

sect itself, although he treats extensively of all other sects, but especially those which were of a very recent date: that of Judah of Gaulonitis, that of Theudas, of the Zealots, and gives a full account of persons and their purposes. The few lines found in the present shape of his book concerning the author of Christianity, bear the most distinct impress of later interpolation; the brief words are in the fullest conflict with the character of the whole book, are without all connection, a patched fragment, not the work of an author who elaborates, according to a certain plan, the task proposed to himself.

Within Palestine this sect could not hope for an extensive spread; the lower classes of the people, by nature prone to believe in wonders and greedy of miracles, who were rejected by their more elevated fellow-citizens and would, therefore, willingly lean upon something new—these lower classes were the first to receive favorably the new sect and to follow it. This miracle-ridden class creates its own fulfilled wonders with the greatest ease, in luxuriant abundance. Hence, the new doctrine was almost entirely covered with the most luxuriant weeds by the superstition of the lower classes of that time. The belief in

Demons that can be found everywhere in innumerable multitudes, who as evil spirits infest the atmosphere, take possession of men and infatuate them, but can again be exorcised by incantation —this crude belief in Demons, it is true, may now and then be found in ancient Jewish writings; but it forms by no means their centre and substance. But it is even such events that occupy a very great portion of the records of the period of incipient Christianity; the naratives concerning the work of the Devil, that he possesses humanity, that his hosts enter into men as demons, and that the possessed are cured again, almost over-float all other history.

Such was the state of things in Palestine.

It was otherwise amongst the Jews living in other countries. For Jews lived not exclusively in Palestine; from ancient times they had established Congregations among the Greeks, and spread more and more, the gloomier the aspect of affairs grew in their own land. Although they felt deep sympathy with the sufferings of their brethern left in their old country; although every woe which befell Palestine, their original home, found the deepest response in the hearts of the Grecian

Jews; although they looked with reverence toward the sacred Temple, which ever remained their mother soil: yet they were exempt from the struggle going on there. While arms clashed in Judea, all energies were roused from day to day to attend to the wants of the day, to endure labors and hardships, to avert animosities,—while thus in Judea mind and strength were directed entirely toward the present, the Grecian Jews were, after all, only passive spectators, who beheld with profound grief, perhaps also under the derision of the Greeks, the coming destruction of their holy land, the speedy loss of their spiritual centre. Such were the sentiments of the Grecian Jews. Now, as their eyes, full of hope and comfort, were turned toward the new time in which they were to be freed from these sufferings, which with them were of a rather spiritual nature, they were far nearer to the belief, that this their hope would soon be fulfilled, nay, that it was fulfilled. They were not pressed down by the whole burden of the day, they breathed more freely, hence indulged more freely in this hope. Besides, the proclamations of enthusiastic votaries were more readily believed in the distance than among those who had beheld everything with their own eyes.

Thus it happened that Messianic Judaism proclaimed as already fulfilled, found a far greater number of votaries, even in the beginning, among the Jewish colonies in Greece; among them this new belief met with a new, spiritual element. The Grecian Jews possessed a Græco-philosophical trait, which they had interwoven with their ancient religious belief. The religious speculations in that country especially tended toward the recognition of a divine reflex, a *Logos*, the divine thought which, being an emanation of God, had taken part in the creation of the world, and thus came into, and would forever remain in connection with it; filled with the spirit of Judaism, philosophy had placed God beyond all contact with the world, placed Him so far beyond all that is finite and temporal, that a certain connection was found necessary, to make it possible to deduce the creation and preservation of the world from God himself. The *Logos*, "the Thought," the Reflex, the Idea emanating from God, was the *Demiourgos*, the Creator of the World. Whether he was to be regarded as an individual being, or as a mere idea, remained undecided; it was a custom initiated by Plato, to keep the idea suspended between something actually existing, and merely

imaginary. Now, the Logos, the Thought, the Notion, or the "*Word*," as the Greek term may further be interpreted, was, as it were, the mediator between God and the world, the Logos, as Philo and certainly also others expressed it in the bold language of poetry, became "*the only begotten son* (*μονογενής*) *of God*,"—a bold, poetical designation, but fully justified by their philosophical system. The *Thought* born of God, but yet remaining forever with God, could justly be called the only begotten son of God. This view had become widely known, had become common; and supporting itself by expressions of Holy Writ, such as the word of God, the glory of God, and other similar terms, it did not remain with the Grecian Jews alone, but found a reception also among the Jews of Palestine. Here, the Logos was called "*Memra*," likewise the "*Word*," the emanation from God to lead mankind, to produce all effects in the visible world, and the Chaldean version designates God by "*Memra*," whenever it seeks to hold Him apart from visible associations.

Now a new world has come, the future world is realized. The world had been created through the Logos, through its mediation; if then, the ancient world created by the Logos is destroyed,

and a new world established, the future world realized, can the latter, again, have been created by any one except the Logos? To be sure, the Messiah is even in the Logos, the Word, the only begotten son of God! The Christian idea is thus transplanted upon another soil, the views change. the Son of Man is made the Son of God—it is true, at first only as an idea, as a philosophical thought; but the belief of the multitude soon makes him the *real* Son of God. The Son of God creates a new world; the old world is destroyed, by his appearance a new one is being inaugurated. By his appearance—should he, indeed, have been born like an ordinary man? The Palestinean Messiah is a descendant of David; receives his birth like any other man; enters the world, though with a sublime mission from God, yet without being more than a man. But should the Logos, the only begotten son, enter into the world like the child of human parents—should the Logos be a human child, should the Logos have been born in a human manner? Are these not conflicting terms? If generation and birth can be spoken of in connection with him, these things cannot have happened in a natural way. He is the Son of God, —it is true, he enters the flesh, but in a miraculous

way: a mother gives him birth, but the Holy Spirit is his father. This was a transformation which necessarilly grew from the contact of incipient Christianity with Grecian Judaism.

Such was the entrance of the Messiah into this world; but how is his exit? The Messiah is indeed a man vested with divine power; but he ever remains an instrument in the hand of God. He can die, can be killed; but then he appears again, he even shall inaugurate the new world; he rises again, he is risen again. But how can the only begotten son who bears within him the full power of God, be killed? Why, of course, he cannot be killed by human power, but he may die, when he wills it himself,—he can voluntarily give himself up as an apparent sacrifice. The old world must perish—it also was begotten by the Logos—Adam represented the archtype of the human race, Adam bore within him the whole of mankind. As this system represents everything as being produced by a process of interpenetration, and teaches that the higher contains also the lower, thus in the first man, in Adam, lay also the whole human race. Now, if the human race has become so corrupt, if the old world has turned so evil that it must perish, this state must be referred back to

old Adam. He sinned, and through his sin the whole future race became diseased, and, in order that it should be cured, the old world must die and a new one be born. But, if the old world must die, must then not all men perish with it? No! the Logos himself, the creator of the old human race dies for it. By means of his incarnation he takes upon himself the whole punishment of humanity, sacrifices himself for the human race; but his divinity remains, and henceforward fills the new mankind.

These were new ideas which developed themselves from the Judæo-Grecian philosophy, which wrought thoroughgoing reforms in the conception of God, and were very near transgressing the bounds of Judaism. Besides, concerning man also, these new ideas produced a mighty change. Judaism teaches that man dies for his sin, that every one receives his punishment for his own transgressions; that God is a forgiving and merciful God, who, though He allows no sin to go unpunished, works, nevertheless, no universal destruction on account of sin, and least of all visits the sin of a man upon others, his near relatives. An entirely different conception naturally presented itself concerning this point. In one man

—of course in the first man—all men had already sinned; guilt had been bequeathed, all bore the disease wrought by that guilt, they bore it as fetters from which they could not relieve themselves. These ideas are foreign to Judaism, they have been inoculated into it; it may be that among the Grecian Jews some minds who indulged in mystic speculation favored them; but even among them they were not generally adopted. *This was the second phase of Christianity.*

While in the first phase of Christianity, the "*Kingdom of God*" is emphasized as brought about by the human Messiah, the second phase lays especial stress upon the "*Son of God.*" Of the miraculous birth connected with this change of ideas, the most faithful narrator, Mark, knows nothing; although the phrase "*Son of God*" now and then, but very seldom, occurs in the present text of the book, he still moves within the first phase of the development of Christianity, when the other meaning had not yet become a necessity. Only in the second phase of its development that miraculous generation appears; and only in another record which is entirely based upon Grecian philosophy, in that bearing the name of John, we find the full, distinct statement, that the Logos

became flesh and appeared on earth; that, as the vicar of the whole human race, he had taken its sins upon himself, and expiated them by his death. Such was the second phase of the development of Christianity, and it had thereby almost ceased to be a sect within Judaism, however much it preserved its place within the pale of the latter. For as yet we find no efforts made to break the barriers of Judaism, to effect changes and reforms therein; for instance, to declare that the law was repealed, that the provisions of the law had lost their validity. It cannot be denied, an impulse thereto lay at the very root of this change; all ancient Judaism expressed the view, that the Messianic time would be quite different from the present, all special statutes and ordinances would then cease, all distinctions vanish. Thus the very belief that the Messiah had come, that a new world had appeared, contained in itself a demand to reform also the whole life. And yet, thus far this demand is not uttered.

But the more the new theory, the belief in the fulfilled Messiahship placed itself beyond the pale of Judaism, the more it came in conflict with its essence and fundamental principles, the more

it must needs have felt itself urged beyond it. The new belief had adopted ideas which, the more they were developed, came in the most hostile conflict with the foundations of Judaism; to remain standing still at that point was impossible; there was but this alternative, either to pass beyond the pale of Judaism, or to perish; compromise was out of question. It was natural that it was urged on to spread outside of Judaism. If the Logos had indeed appeared, if a new world was indeed come, this world must needs develop itself from itself, through the belief in the Messiah who had come, who had risen to reform the world; through him alone, though on the foundation of Judaism, the new world must be erected. It was a bold and energetic man who first uttered the word—he had the courage to break down the bridge. It was *Paul*, who was not one of the disciples of the author of Christianity; who had never had personal connection with him; who had on all occasions, and with determination, proclaimed and emphasized the continuance of Judaism. Paul at first persecuted the new sect; he was a man of thorough work who could brook no half-way work. Either to oppose the new sect with all determination, or to develop it to its

extreme consequences, this was his life's task. On his way to Damascus, that is, to the Grecian cities, the new idea forced itself upon his mind: "How, should the theory as developed by Grecian philosophy proclaim indeed a certain truth, and, if it be true, should then also an entirely new world come? 'The Messiah is destined for the human race,' thus Judaism teaches, 'the Logos is the creator of the world, the creator of all mankind—well then, let it go forth to the whole human race, down with all barriers, let the new Messianic Judaism receive all!'" Thus Paul presented himself, and the third phase of Christianity was inaugurated.

A new feature now presented itself—Paul himself was the Apostle of the heathens;—he at first ventured to address himself to persons outside of Judaism, to preach the new doctrine to those who, unaffected by the new development, must have been startled by his announcement. He carried the pure doctrine concerning God into heathenism, he made the religious and moral idea of Judaism the common property of mankind, but without their distinct forms as expressed in clear and emphatic laws. This was sufficient for the heathens, and the generalization of the Jewish

truths was a mighty step for mankind. The different laws founded on Jewish history were unknown, and would have been an intolerable burden for them; their invalidity, their repeal required no justification for the heathens; but this was the more necessary before Paul's own conscience, before the believers won from the Jews could be persuaded of the same. Granted even, that the God-given law has lost its unavoidably binding power in the Messianic time now fulfilled, does it not, nevertheless, remain a sanctifying power, does it not, nevertheless, exalt those who further cleave to it, who further observe it?

Grant even that the believers who were to be converted from heathenism might be exempted from it; grant even, that it could not be imposed on them as a binding rule, could it be taken away also from the Jews who had been born with its obligations? Should it not remain at least for them as a means of higher sanctification? Should the express declaration of its invalidity not be postponed at least till the return of the Messiah, and the future establishment of the new world in its full glory? Paul hesitated. Although the bold idea to unite the whole human race under the banner of *one* belief had drowned all doubts

within his own heart, it was yet more difficult to remove those of his ancient brethren in faith who had been won from the Jews from their standpoint; they had already merged the ancient custom into the new belief; why, then, should they repudiate the former? Paul hesitated and drew a distinction. "Let the Jews cling to their ancient accustomed law, the new belief will satisfy the heathens." But then, a dangerous breach would divide the new system, and frustrate all his endeavors; such a discord among the votaries of the same belief, producing in itself confusion, would bear the germ of dissolution in its own bosom; the heathens would then not appear as citizens of equal rights, enjoying all the privileges in the new empire of Religion; and the Jews, on the other hand, would remain the privileged class of saints, both by their birth and the further observance of the law; whereas the heathen Christians would constitute but an unholy appendage. And yet, these were Paul's strongest supporters.

Thus Paul was compelled to take a further step. It was not sufficient to designate the "*Law*" as superfluous, as dispensable, it must be entirely broken, it must be declared an obstacle to holiness. The present observance of the Law, thus

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he proceeded, is not merely unmeritorious, it is the work of a defective belief; the true believer *is not even permitted* to fulfill the Law. How, should the observance of the Law be a sin? Was it not given by God? Was it not binding in former days, and should now, all at once, its observance be even sinful? Yes, indeed, replied Paul, the Law was given by God, but for sinful men among the Jews, it is in a measure the work of sin; it is a "*yoke*," but not a sweet one, it is a hard, heavy yoke. The new belief is a sweet yoke, a blessing for all mankind, the old law was a curse, a scourge for the Jewish people; the ban is removed in consequence of the vicarious death of Jesus; the whole human race, the sinful Jews as well as the heathens, are now sanctified through the *holy spirit*, which has been spread over all mankind. And will ye be willing to remain further under the curse, under the scourge, now when a blessing, a kinder treatment awaits you? Break the law! If you desire to be the saints, you must altogether acknowledge the fulfilled salvation. Away with circumcision, away with the dietary laws! The former is a token of the old covenant, a new one has been established; the latter represent the heathen meats as idola-

trous, which have now become new meats of sacrifice and love.

This line of thought was, on one hand, the most logical consistency, but contained also, on the other, the most trenchant severity against Judaism; because not alone the forms of the latter, while preserving its fundamental principles, were represented as worthless, but because it was violently divested of its whole profound, intrinsic substance. A reconciliation of such views with Judaism, considering that it was still regarded as a divine institution, even though but for the past, could be established only by artful dialectics, which Paul practised both by oral instruction and in his epistles. He created an imposing effect, but did not easily convince. A violent struggle arose between the so-called Judaizing Christians and the heathen Christians. The doctrine of Judaizing Christianity, that is to say Messianism with the whole Jewish Law preserved in it, predominated; the new doctrine seeking to obtrude itself on it was contended against with all determination and hostility, not alone by the Jews, but also by the Judaizing Christians. The new Christians were called Bileamites; that is to say, men who intended to introduce idolatrous sacrifices

among the Jews, as Bileam sought to lead the Israelites astray by enjoying the feasts of the idols. Violent struggles and manifold secessions took place within the different congregations; concessions were made and peace restored; only after a long time of uncertainty as to the final result, heathen Christianity prevailed, as it necessarily had to prevail. Within Judaism the contradiction created too wide a chasm—to be on one hand an entire Jew, and, on the other, to adopt Messiah and Logos ideas—to worship on one hand the One God, and, on the other, to introduce a new element of divinity, was too decisive a conflict to be lasting. Judaizing Christianity succumbed to heathen Christianity. *This was the third phase.* It is true, Heathendom was formerly impure, unholy, but now the holy spirit, as a genuine Jewish idea, entered the new world, consecrating and sanctifying it. The third degree was arrived at, and now another belief occupied the foreground: the belief in the *Holy Spirit.* Thus the three phases of development which could not be separated from each other, but on the contrary, must needs constitute an entirety, were comprised in the belief in the *Trinity.* God and His Kingdom embodied the first phase; God the Son, the

second; the Holy Spirit consecrating the whole of mankind, the third; their connection into a unit thenceforward formed the essence of belief. Thus Christianity, fully developed was destined to pass to the heathens.

But could it, indeed, pass to the heathens,—were they prepared, inclined to adopt it? Let us now cast a glance at the heathen world. We no longer stand upon the soil of Grecian Antiquity. The educated world of that time was no longer illumined by philosophy, no longer developed its ideas with an original creative energy, as at the time of the ancient Greeks,—we have arrived at quite a different age. Roman spirit ruled the world, everything proceeded from Rome, her hand rested heavily upon all nations. Rome had a great mission to fulfill in the world's history, and she fulfilled it, somewhat in the manner of absolutism in political developments. Absolutism, the violent rule of one man to the exclusion of the rights of all others, which is most emphatically designated by the well-known words of Louis XIV.: "*L'etat c'est moi*," "I am the State,"—as a form of government contains, properly speaking, no idea at all;—it has no innate justification, to

invest one man with all possible power, and to divest all others of their natural rights. Yet, Absolutism derives its justification from historic development;—it was its mission to level mankind; to produce an equality among the different prerogatives which had preserved their existence in the shape of different *Estates* and their perverted phenomena; to destroy, with one blow, all these prerogatives which had become an obstacle in the world's progress;—first to convert all into slaves, in order that afterwards all might become free citizens, every one of whom might claim that prerogative which his capacity and merit should deserve. A similar mission was that of Rome in the history of the world. Rome united the world beneath one and the same oppression, carried servitude everywhere, but, at the same time, made the nations approach each other, and brought them together. Rome did not develop from within herself a spiritual power and original views of her own; whatever she accomplished in the Republic of the spirit was imitation, was adopted, and this too, rather superficially and scantily. Philosophy dragged on a sickly life among the Romans and was popularized in the most sober conceptions; all other spiritual creations that gain-

ed authority had been received from without, borrowed, transplanted upon Roman soil, but were not borne up by creative vigor, did not originate from homesprung solidity.

If thus spiritual life in general did not occupy a high degree, it was natural that the idea of God, the doctrine concerning gods, was in a still worse condition. We have not been able to regard Grecian Mythology as the very acme of their cultivation, of their spiritual life; yet, it bears the impress of ideal sublimity, of the law of beauty; it contains ideas which, though bound up within visible form, and, as such tangible phenomena, deeply rooted in the midst of the people, could nevertheless give the impulse to a higher conception—and philosophy deepened this conception. In Rome, Mythology was something naked, the product of home-made understanding. The domestic Gods, the Penates and Lares, were to a certain degree the centre of religious life; the boundaries of fields received consecration; the affairs of daily life, of the rude popular power, were personified and worshipped as gods. And when with advancing culture, with the contact with Grecian manners, not alone general science, though in rather faded state, but also the acquain-

tance with Grecian Mythology entered Rome, a curious mixture with Hellenism presented itself; the Grecian divinities were identified with those of ancient Rome, the former were compelled to descend from their ideal heights, and the latter divested of their originality. Thenceforward there were but shadows that the people adored.

All at once a conception of Grecian Mythology manifested itself even in Hellenism, which divested it of all poesy, and Rome very soon showed herself ready to adopt the same. Euhemeros was the name of a Grecian author who reduced Mythology to the level of most vulgar rationalism. The gods—thus he taught—were great kings, whom their own admirers raised to a higher position. All that is related of them is but a glorification of common events which we must trace back to their natural realities. If, for example, Kronus is said to have swallowed his own children and to have been dethroned by Jupiter, we have the history of a king in ancient times, when human sacrifices still existed, whom another king dethroned, while he abolished those sacrifices. In this wise all the heroes of Grecian Mythology were divested of their lustre, of their profound essence; for, after all, poetry even when clothed

with the garment of imagination, is more profound than such platitude. This conception soon invaded Rome; the book of Euhemerous was soon translated into Latin, and his views became speedily predominant. Things went even so far that, as it is reported, two Augurs who met had to do all in their power not to burst into loud laughter. It is true, the old manners, the old priesthood, the ancient sacrifices still prevailed; the entrails of sacrificial animals were still examined, the flight of the birds was still watched; but the belief in them no longer existed. Thus the result was easily arrived at, that, as the ancient gods were but human beings, men were made gods; that emperors were adored as gods with their passions and follies; that emperors demanded and received divine worship. To such a depth was all religious life sunk in Rome, and in the world which she ruled.

But human nature is not satisfied with such a state; as on one side crude disbelief, so arose, on the other, a longing after another belief, a desire to be filled with a higher idea, with something miraculous which does not daily meet the eye with such plain naturalness. Alongside of disbelief, superstition manifested itself; for such is

human nature that, by the side of luxuriant materialism, rapping spirits also are worshipped. Thus Rome was filled with a mass of the most various and heterogeneous worships; the oriental divinities, which, at all events, offered nourishment to the imagination by their novelty and mystery, received the greatest share of adoration. Judaism also spread to a great degree in Rome; but it was too sober and rigorous a religion to conquer the degenerate Roman world. It was then that a new belief presented itself, which was intimately connected with heathenism, and nevertheless was entirely heterogenous. A man who was at the same time a god, constituted its centre; but the manner in which he presented himself—the doctrine which was connected with the belief in him, had a character impressed upon this new Religion, such as had, until then, not been known to them. It naturally made a deep impression, exercised a deeply marked influence, gave new elasticity to the enervated spirits. And thus the doctrine of Christianity, in its third phase, when it was accessible to the whole human race, made its entrance into heathenism! it is true, not as a triumphator, not as a power that strikes like a bolt of lightning, enlightening and overpowering

the spirits, but gradually, after a contest which was waged against it for a long time; until after the lapse of centuries, it was raised to the throne by an event which has not yet been fully cleared up, and thus became the ruling religion. After a long protracted struggle, it gained entrance into the heathen world—it was now Christianity completely severed from Judaism. It pursued its own way, and we are not called upon to farther follow its history; yet it remains for us to answer the question: "Now, that Christianity has become engrafted on the history of the world, what mission is left for Judaism? Or does Judaism merely continue in a process of decay, is it nothing but an ancient ruin? Would it not be better, therefore, to surrender itself?" The reply to this question which forces itself upon us, demands, ere we follow the history of Judaism any farther, that we should devote ourselves a little longer to the contemplation of Christianity.

LECTURE XI.

CHRISTIANITY AS AN ECCLESIASTICAL WORLD-POWER.—THE DESTRUCTION OF JEWISH NATIONALITY.

THE enthusiasm-exciting proclamation which the prophets of Judaism had sent into the world with the most determined confidence, to wit, that a time shall come, when God alone shall be acknowledged, when undisturbed peace shall unite and gladden all mankind—this glance at an ennobled future of truth and fraternization contained a determined energy which afforded Judaism durability and courage, and conferred on it a never-failing self-confidence going hand in hand with the very development of mankind. In opposition to Grecian Mythology, which places the golden age in the very cradle of the human race, and lets it be followed by times more and more worthless, Judaism preserves the sublime belief, that mankind is the fertile soil upon which the seed of the spirit

shall ripen into an abundant harvest. Hence also the mighty perseverance displayed by Judaism; and this very hope has proved, in the course of centuries, to be the very saving power of Judaism. But now, if this hope is not merely greeted as one whose fulfillment yet lay in distant future, if it is described as one soon to be fulfilled, if times appear when men proclaimed: "The present world is consumed in itself, is demolished in its very foundations—the new world, the Messianic time must, shall soon be at hand," then this confidence, this glance at the speedily approaching future in which a complete, ennobling reformation was to take place, created a courage and a strength which could withstand the greatest obstacles. We beheld this phenomenon in the time of the Maccabean wars, which almost ruined, yet could not break the popular strength, because the sure conviction of a reformation of affairs living within the breasts of the people, produced an unconquerable, unshaken confidence. But now, if even the proclamation is uttered: "The old world has perished, is broken, the new one has already appeared, a new human race, as it was promised, now lives, shall henceforth live"—this belief in one's self, this confidence entertained by mankind,

or a portion of mankind, this increased self-consciousness, contains a power which naturally invested this portion, not merely with an intensive elasticity to persevere even under the most trying hardships, but even to present an imposing spectacle to the world at large. A sublime self-confidence, the bold assertion of one's own fullness of power, bears within itself such an energy that the rest of the world will be astonished, will be startled. Do we not see this in the history of individuals? When a man meets the world with the full confidence in his own claims, with the belief in himself, he will accomplish, he will gain much — his bold demands will indeed compel many to yield to him; the belief in himself will beget also the belief of others in him. Review the great characters in the world's history, and you will find this fully proven: they became great, because they presented themselves with the assertion to be great. When Cæsar said: "This ship carries Cæsar and his destiny," this, his full conviction, that the destiny of the whole world depended upon his own, contained an imposing power. When the French Revolution entered upon the world's history with the determined conviction: "The old world has perished, everything

thus far formed is abuse and prejudice, a completely new time must come;" when it announced itself as a new era, with which a new computation of time must begin, its successes did not rest upon the new ideas which it created, nor even the positive truths which it uttered, but in its very determination, in the belief in its own self;—this constituted the triumphant power that gave it the impulse to spread all over the world; if it was indeed a new world, the whole earth must be subjected to it, no barrier of any nationality must impede its onward march.

Such also was the power of Christianity, when it presented itself to the world.

Christianity proclaimed: "I *am* the new mankind, the new world is come, the old world is dead, demolished." It is a word that makes epoch in history, and when the author of Christianity is represented to have said: "I am the truth, the way, and the life," these words may indeed be apocryphal, but they fully express the idea, the claims wherewith Christianity presented itself. I am a new power, a new world, all must yield to me; before me there was nothing; before me—thus it proclaimed—there were but sin, decay and spiritual perversity; all the wisdom of former

times is but high-sounding folly, all their virtue, shining vice. Even though it placed itself upon the foundation of Judaism, acknowledged the ancient Sacred Scriptures of the Jews, adopted their contents, yet it proclaimed—and if we do not find this in its earlier records, it is, nevertheless, the full consequence of its doctrine, and contained in the teachings of Paul—that the author of Christianity had to descend into hell in order to save all the damned souls of ancient times. All the pious prophets, preachers of truth and religion were, it is true, recognized, yet they were doomed to spiritual death; "for with me," such was the proclamation, "the new mankind begins, and whatever existed during the time before me, is nothing, and not merely nothing, but even thoroughly filled with corruption." This boldness embraces a power which not only exercises its inspiring influence upon its own votaries, but startles even outsiders. And when, besides, such assertions are made at a time, and addressed to a race, which is indeed broken and ruined in itself, they appear as imbued with perfect healthfulness. Mankind, at that time, was really severed from its former phases of development, it had arrived at the point where decay commences; the vigor for-

merly innate in Hellenism, and indirectly in Roman customs and religion, was broken in itself, divested of its very life; from the decay in all conditions there was but one way of salvation: to disavow this world, to repudiate all that was unhealthy. It is true, Christianity had to struggle for centuries until it prevailed;—but it had to prevail in that degenerate Romano-Grecian world. Whether it could have succeeded also in new creations, is a question unanswered by history. Like a huricane it swept away all the withered leaves of ancient culture, buried all the ruins of the ancient magnificent structures; but whether it would have been able to erect new edifices upon the same soil, we may just as well answer negatively, as it is affirmed by others; history leaves us without even the slightest intimation. If Byzanthinism, representing as it does a continued development of the Grecian world within Christianity, may afford such an intimation to where the world would have been driven, if the ancient elements had been permitted to develope themselves under the rule of Christianity—the answer would, of course, not be very favorable.

But the new world was destined to take a different course—not only the remnants of Antiquity

were annihilated by Christianity, its very elements were partially directly destroyed, at least thoroughly shaken, commixed with new, original ingredients. The migration of peoples brought a host of uncivilized, savage nations, still invested with pristine vigor, into the ancient world; it was here that Christianity developed its peculiarly important power, that it fulfilled its great mission to mankind. Here were no ancient recollections to be wiped out—these nations had no history in the true sense of the word—they bore no peculiar culture of their own, they were characters of native vigor. To oppose these, to thunder into their ears, their souls, their consciences: "Your power is nothing, your obstinacy is wickedness, your natural propensities are sin, all your creature-endowments are degeneracy"—to weaken these iron bodies, to tame these obdurate spirits, to shake these savage consciences, was the task of a world-power, of a power that asserted concerning itself: "I alone rule all your actions, all your aspirations, all your boasts of your bodily strength, wherewith indeed you could oppose an enervated world, all these are vain—ye must bend your necks under my yoke." Such a despotic edict prepared the souls of these nations for a truly spiritual and

moral culture; the religious and moral elements which were taken from Christianity and sown into that original soil, found a fertile ground naturally fit to ripen fruits. It is a great mission of Christianity that, as a spiritual power, it thus met a creation of pure nature, a power which boastingly relied upon a stalwart arm, upon iron bodies. And Christianity furthermore fulfilled its mission in this, that it united the nations hitherto living in isolation and stupid seclusion, that it entwined the bond of mankind around these isolated and retired members, infused into them ideas of common interest, and gained them over to a great, humane community of aspirations. This constitutes the power of Christianity.

But that which was, and still is its power, is at the same time also its weakness. It presented itself with the assertion: "I am the new world, all that existed before me is nothing," and thus ruined and destroyed all the valued, beautiful and noble creations of former times; it cannot, indeed, claim any credit, if anything of those times has been saved; for its assaults were directed with destructive rage, not alone against all that was idolatrous and heathen as such, but against all the spiritual treasures of Antiquity—everything coming there-

from was the work of the devil, must needs be destroyed. The genius of mankind has ruled with greater charity—has saved it against the loss of everything;—it has saved works of ancient art and science, partly in the shape of ruins, and again in the form of unbroken creations, in order that a later age may be elevated and fertilized through them; the genius of mankind has protected it against complete self-destruction, and this, too, in the most determined opposition to the demands of Christianity, and has thus shown that, after all, it is mightier than the latter. Christianity disavowed the old world, denied both its existence and its right of existence—all right was to begin with itself; and from that moment it suffered nothing to exist by its side, so long as it had the power thus to act. "There is nothing beside me, I am mankind, I rule mankind, all the actions of the world must be superintended by me, must be obedient to my rule!" is its continually recurring demand. Every development in the human world, which would take its course by the side of Christianity, was designated as heresy, was opposed with all determination. If we contemplate the world's history with an unprejudiced eye, we must most decidedly repudiate the asser-

tion that Christianity is the mother of modern culture. The Christian Religion, the Church representing its body, has always struggled against science—she has invariably declared every light that would shine besides her own, to be a false light, which must needs be extinguished.

For this reason, its power could not completely possess itself of those portions of mankind, whose native character was still healthy, and which produced from within themselves a healthy development. Even heathenism struggled a long time with Christianity; was this, perchance, because it worshipped its idols, because it regarded them as a higher wisdom in comparison with the doctrine of Christianity? This belief had long been shaken; that struggle was rather the result of a higher culture; the philosophical schools contended against the new religion with a fanaticism awakened in them by their love for science. The neo-platonic, neo-pythagorean, and other systems, protested with all their power against the glorification of ignorance, against the praise paid to the poor in spirit, against the lustre that was attempted to be shed upon want of wisdom. It was a difficult task for Christianity to subjugate that power of higher culture;—it was only fire and sword,

the greatest earthly horrors, and not the power of the spirit, that completely annihilated the fragments thereof which had been left in existence. Even in the ninth century the dispersed philosophers who had saved themselves in the East, the *Harranenses*, asserted with full self-consciousness, that they stood far higher than the Christians. *Thabet ben Koran*, a Harranensian Syrian heathen —for even into the tenth century philosophical Hellenism had preserved its existence in those regions, until the combined fury of Christianity and Mahommedanism succeeded to destroy also those small remnants—Thabet ben Koran says in one of his writings: "When many were subjugated by violence under the new error, our fathers persevered with the help of God, and escaped through their heroism, and this blessed city (Harran,) has never been defiled by the errors of Nazareth. We, indeed, are the heirs and devisees of heathenism which shone so brilliantly in this world. Happy is he who, with unshaken trust, endures sufferings for the sake of heathenism. Pray, who rendered the world inhabitable—who converted the cities into places of abode for families—who else than the nobles and kings of heathenism? Who builded havens, made rivers navi-

gable, who unlocked hidden sciences? Only the renowned among the heathens have fathomed this, have caused healing to shine forth unto the souls, shown the means for their redemption, have also discovered and taught the healing of the flesh; they alone have filled the world with well-ordered morals, with wisdom, which is the fountain-head of excellency. Without these fruits of heathenism, the world would be void, poor, clad in deficiency and barrenness." This is a proud assertion, but an assertion emanating from the conviction of the object in view, to which even the latest remnants of philosophical heathenism clung with perfect clearness while struggling against Christianity. Again, when the nations attained to independence, when a new human culture grew, as it were, from within themselves, when they awoke to a free use of their spiritual powers, then also the struggle at once commenced against Christianity, as Christianity contended against all these new developments which it condemned as heresy, and even to this day does condemn in consonance with its assumed superiority. For, indeed, the power of Catholicism consists in this, that it most decidedly represents the claims of Christianity in all their consequences, that it presents itself as

the only power on earth vested with the perogative to regard the whole world as subject to its rule, that it appoints bishops *in partibus infidelium*, that it maintains: "I alone am the human race, and to those who represent me the whole world must pay homage, the consciences must disclose themselves to them, the spirits must bow to them, and all passions and endowments of men must yield their service to me."

Verily, this assertion constituting the very power of Christianity, contains, at the same time, its weakness: to wit, that it is not willing to work as a spiritual power in mankind, but means to stand above mankind, disavowing mankind itself in all other relations. It would be folly and blasphemy at the same time, were we to deny that a religion which has exhibited such a power through eighteen centuries, had not a mission imposed upon it by God; but on the other hand, it would be no less an insult to history if we were to deny and contradict the historic mission of that religion, which is the mother and the root of the new religion, and which, throughout all the time that the latter developed its power in all fullness, was nevertheless preserved despite all oppression and de-

rision, poverty and disruption, ay, even then when its spiritual eye was by violence covered with darkness—of a religion which, I say, despite of all this, preserved its existence, exhibited its vitality, whenever it was permitted to move, with renewed freshness, and at all times preserved for itself a fund of spiritual capability, moral aspiration and moral power. It could not have existed throughout that long time alongside of Christianity, it must needs have decayed, it must needs have died long ago, or have been brought near death, if it did not bear within itself a healthy vitality.

Yes, Judaism has preserved itself alongside of Christianity and despite of Christianity. It has been assailed not alone with carnal weapons, with fire and sword, with expulsion and oppression, but also with spiritual weapons; all the good and noble elements accorded to Judaism before it had given birth to Christianity, were regarded as a simple preparation for Christianity, as an inheritance for Christianity, so to say, even before its birth. Judaism has nevertheless preserved itself, has saved its eternal treasures, and not allowed itself to be dimmed; it has not permitted its belief in God to be disfigured by,and commingled with extraneous elements; it has not allowed the doctrine

of original sin, which was deduced with great pains from its Scriptures to be inoculated upon it; it has not permitted the annihilation of its title of nobility among mankind, and has clung to the conviction that man has been invested by God with the power of free self-destination and self-ennoblement; that despite the sensual propensity innate in man's nature, he is, at the same time, vested with the power of conquering it, to reach, by means of his own exertions, the goal of ennoblement and elevation. And precisely because it remained free from the belief in native sin and the corruption of human nature, it never desired to attain to purification by means of an extraneous redemption; it has not exchanged its merciful God for the God of that love which, to gratify its anger, requires a great, vicarious sacrifice brought for the general mass of men. Judaism has not regarded the development of mankind towards a higher goal as a negation of itself, and hence it has undertaken no struggle against the same; it has never made the proclamation: "The time is already fulfilled, and eighteen centuries ago the keystone was laid, the keystone of one world, and at the same time, the foundation-stone of another, —there is no truth that could be added."

Christianity must needs look upon that time as the most important in the world's history—it is its very heart and centre—the person that brought it about must always remain its highest ideal. Even the most liberal-minded, who divest the author of Christianity of all power of working miracles, cannot escape the urgent necessity of creating for themselves, in order to preserve some connection with their religion, an artificial ideal to which they attribute the greatest earthly perfection—a production which must far more quickly give way before criticism than the ancient solid belief. Judaism, on the other hand, can well dispense with individualities—it could allow criticism to treat all its great men just as it pleases, even though it went so far—which, of course, it would do only in bold arrogance—as to erase Moses from history. We might, perhaps, regret such an attempt; but is it Moses, is it any one of the great laborers, that constitutes the foundation of Judaism? The law with its doctrines exists, containing its belief, and this will be preserved; the law exists as it entered Judaism, no matter who taught it, no matter who the historic individual was that was the mediator for its transmission; no matter whether he was completely free from sin, or a man

not more free from human foibles than any other human being. Thus it has come to pass that Judaism has preserved its mission, while its history was not broken off by the birth of Christianity; it acknowledges in this a great world-historic event, which deserves to be appreciated in its whole significance, and hence the following question must suggest itself with the greater force to a Jew: "Why doest thou not, under this view, appreciate it in the same manner, as a large portion of the human race do? Why dost thou recognise it only as a world-reforming event, and not also as the sole truth, the full, unclouded truth, which entered into the world?" When in our contemplation of the development of Judaism we arrived at this epoch, we were not permitted to forego the task of discovering what this new belief, which was born of Judaism, and afterward constituted itself as a world's power, was for us, and how we might explain it and its triumphant march. It is not my intention to furnish a criticism of Christianity, and much less to attack a belief which did, and still does inspire millions, or even to offend pious hearts. But, after all, it is our duty clearly to state, how those who do not profess this belief regard it in its origin, as a world-

historic event—what claims we have to preserve alongside of it, our own spiritual structure and even to add thereto. Whoever is not willing to listen to our defence may close his ears and shut his eyes to what is passing; but he must not bear us any ill-will therefor: he dare not deny us the free utterance of our opinion.

Judaism had arrived at an epoch which was in the highest degree fraught with danger. We left it at a time when all destructive powers gnawed at its vitals, when, from without, all-powerful Rome burst upon it, and from within, the parties were rioting in its midst, threatening to undermine its best elements. And it was under such circumstances that it commenced and continued the struggle, which, it is true, was decided against it, or rather against its nationality. That such had to be the issue, was in the nature of things. The small nation that had to succumb to Rome, could not, for any great length of time, withstand her superior power. Besides, it was not at all destined to represent a nation, its nationality was but a temporal form, a means whereby the *belief* should be fortified, should so deeply take root in its members, that it could continue to live with full vital-

ity even in their dispersion. The time having come, the national form could well be demolished. It is true, those living at that time did not entertain this view; they fought with courage and enthusiasm. I shall not place before you the various sufferings which this little band had to endure; I shall not depict how the slain were heaped upon the slain; how destruction progressed step by step; how the men closed up the breaches in the walls with their bodies; how enthusiasm sustained the waning strength of the weakened arms; I will not entertain you with the woes and lamentations that filled those days. Suffice it to say, the Temple fell, the nationality was demolished, Judah ceased to be a nation, her members were driven from their ancient soil, again led into exile and dispersed all over the globe. The hatred of the victor, who was deeply mortified that he had to try for such a long time his gallantry upon such a small nation, prosecuted them, as also the scorn and oppression of centuries, especially when the daughter of Judaism had been raised to the throne of power. A tearful drama unfolds itself before our eyes from that time, the most painful sufferings without and within were not wanting; for even the spirits were oppressed and gloomy despair often took

possession of the hearts; and it might have been thought that they must needs have lost their conviction of the truths which were deep and vivid within their breasts. And yet, it is not altogether a tearful tragedy; the tragic character, developed from that time in the destiny of the Jews, conceals a grand idea, discloses a profound conviction which remains alive, and preserves a spiritual freshness which never suffers itself to be bent down, an original vigor which again and again expands wherever room is granted to it. It is not a mere drama moved by fate (*Schicksalsdrama*,) it is more than flat romance presupposes, beholding in Jewish history but a continuing woe, over which it sheds a tear with sentimental heart, but over which at all events the staff must be broken without mercy. No! the resisting power of Judaism knows not alone how to suffer, but knew and knows also how to create in the domain of the spirit. *The drama is not yet concluded*, and he only who shall have seen the last scene thereof, may pronounce a full judgment.

LECTURE XII.

IN THE DISPERSION.

THE Jewish Commonwealth was destroyed, dissolved, the Jewish nationality broken, the Temple burnt down. Whether the tears which Titus is said to have shed at the sight of the devastation flowed from the depth of his heart, or whether they were hypocritical—what does History care about it? what did the different remnants of the Jewish people care about it? A severe blow had been struck at them, and, however long it may have been foreseen, however well they may have been prepared for it, they stood deeply shaken, wounded and broken in their innermost hearts.

Sadduceeism was annihilated. What business was now left for the priests and those of rank? The priests with their ministrations in the Temple, with the sacrifices, were banished from the sacred places; these were defiled, their traces

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could hardly be seen any longer—what was left for the priests? Legend tells us that they threw the keys of the Temple and sacred cells towards heaven, exclaiming: "Do Thou preserve them, Heavenly Father, we have no more use for them!" Indeed! they had not; they will never be returned to them. Others have, in the meanwhile, manufactured for themselves keys for the Temple; they, too, will throw them toward heaven at the time which is approaching; heaven will be the Universal Temple, and the key will be kept by our Heavenly Father. And the leaders and men of rank, what was left for them? Not a shadow of worldly rule was left; there was no more contention for office and distinction, no separation from, and elevation above the masses. *One* oppression weighed upon *all*, *one* grave contained *all* that had been glorious. The Sadducees vanished from history.

The Zealots—the Kannaim—stood there with sullen anger, with brooding indignation; but what avails anger in opposition to superior power? For some time after, they still nourished within their breasts plans of revenge; guerilla warfare continued to devastate Judea—several fortresses, outposts, were for a time defended with bold hero-

ism—they, too, fell. They stirred up the flames still farther, to be still more consumed by them. Even two generations later a revolution broke out, a new Messiah appeared; Bar Koziba placed himself at the head of several bold, daring men; found adherents and confidence even among the considerate and sober-minded; he was a hero in the full sense of the term, and succeeded in resisting for years, with a small band, the mighty Rome; the war of Adrian assumed large dimensions, of course, to result in a further destruction of the weak remnant, and their still more humiliating oppression. The Roman, otherwise little wont to persecute the religion of his enemy, felt too well that he had met a spiritual power which offered him greater resistance than the feeble bodies of its defenders, and his fury was kindled against Judaism and its ceremonies. The observance of the ceremonies and laws of Judaism, of everything that externally designated the Jew, was punished with death—the blood of martyrs flowed in streams; it was but natural that this blood should produce renewed religious power. But the Kannaim also gradually disappeared, leaving only their Greek name behind them: blind fanatics, who, misjudging the holy spirit of History, contend against the

power of the age, and seek to violently preserve the ancient condition, are designated by the name of "*Zealots.*"

The Pharisees of ancient rigorous observance of the strict school, still existed in large numbers —the Shammaites who, covering themselves with the priestly garb of the Law, offered resistance to the power of the Priests—those men who thought to effect the sanctification of the people by rendering the yoke of the Law heavier, still existed in large numbers; they would have gradually died out but for the living power which they bore in themselves, and wherewith they preserved through centuries and thousands of years Israel's holy treasure. When the Temple had fallen, their gloomy sentiment, continually looking back towards the ancient customs and institutions, sought to gain the ascendency. Now, as the Temple is no more, thus they said, we are no longer permitted to eat meat or drink wine; for animals can no longer be sacrificed in the sacred house, wine no longer be brought to God for a drink-offering! With such destructive asceticism, concerning both body and soul, the Pharisees of the strict school would have caused the destruction of Judaism.

But the Hillelites still lived—the men who had inherited the spirit of Hillel, who respected more the sentiment than the ancient rigorous laws, consulting rather the time than ancient custom. It was they that held the remnants closely together, would not suffer the spirit to perish, though the bodily, outward bond had been broken. This Phariseeism which, through Hillel, had developed itself from the very spirit of Judaism, breathed into it a new power of vitality, that it could enter, thus renewed, upon its pilgrimage through the world.

Israel now started upon his new pilgrimage, full of hardships and sufferings; thenceforward, heavy oppression rested upon him for a long time, almost till our own day. The Romans could not pardon him that he had engaged for such a long time their military power, that they had to employ all their strength to overcome that feeble, fragile, puny nation; and the triumphal procession of the victor had to be heightened and made more glorious by the chains and scorn which were laid upon the vanquished. Thenceforward, the Romans nurtured a profound hatred against the conquered remnants of the Jews, against the dispersed members that gradually established themselves in all parts of the Roman empire. And when at last

the belief in the fulfilled Messianic Judaism ascended the throne of the Cæsars, the inherited hatred was joined by another—the struggle became still more humiliating, plunging into the very vitals of the people, and regarding it as a praiseworthy work to mortify the spirits, to lacerate the hearts. Thus the poor pilgrim proceeded through the wilderness of the Middle Ages.

Is it surprising that he turned his countenance upon the past which appeared to him the more brilliant the more it receded—that he expected all happiness and glory from its re-establishment, that the future was to him a reflected picture of all that was long dead and buried? Do you marvel that he accomplished his pilgrimage, panting and depressed; that he clothed himself in an impervious coat of mail, in order that the dagger might recoil, that no hostile touch from without could approach him; that he surrounded himself with all sorts of covering, lest the cold, icy breeze which met him from every word, from every breath, might convulse his limbs? Is it surprising that he wore many a worthless amulet, ornamenting therewith his joyless life—to indulge in its contemplation, in pleasant and cheerful dreams? Everywhere he was permitted to erect only totter-

ing huts; he had to prepare for this, that he might be compelled with his own hands to break down to-morrow the huts which to-day he had built, or that they might be broken down by others. And yet, wherever he would behold greater security; wherever the very least benevolence was extended to him: wherever he was permitted in his new place of sojourn to till the spiritual soil and somewhat more quietly to sow spiritual seed, there that new abode soon turned for him into a new and true home.

It is an affecting sight—but, no! it is more than affecting:—History is not merely a sentimental comedy, not mere material for tear-moistened romance, that it may thereby for a time nourish its agony at the world's disappointments, and then give itself up, the more undisturbedly and indolently, to worldly pleasures; it is more than affecting: it is a sublime sight, to behold how the Jews, wherever they were permitted to be settled for a longer time, would also take deep root in the spirit and character of the country, despite their love for Palestine, despite their fervent attachment to inherited customs, notwithstanding they were filled with the spirit that went forth from Jerusalem, with the law that proceeded from Zion.

Soon after the destruction of the Temple they had again established numerous Congregations in Babylonia. There the new Persian empire, the empire of the Parthians, existed;—a mighty empire which alone knew how to meet the empire of Rome with an unconquerable resistance. We are not sufficiently informed of the internal institutions of that empire, of the spiritual life that reigned there;—at all events, the very fact that it knew how to escape the all-conquering frown of the Roman emperor testifies to the power of independence that animated its people. There, numerous Jewish Congregations existed, and soon a spiritual life began to bloom; and soon, also, their love and attachment for their new country were firmly established. It is a significant declaration which a Teacher of that time—of the third century—is said to have uttered,—a declaration which truly expresses the sentiments of the then Jewish population of that country, saying: "He who emigrateth from Babylonia to Palestine violateth a command, committeth a sin!" Thus they felt themselves closely affiliated with Babylonia, with New-Persia. It is true, that Teacher quoted a verse from the Bible, and interpreted it according to his own manner and that of his time;

but this verse had not given birth to that sentiment, it served only as a loose support therefor; the sentiment had its very root in their love for their new-won country. Fully consonant with that declaration is that of another Teacher, saying: "The law of the land is religiously binding!" In former times, the law of the land (political laws) being looked upon as the product of heathenism, as a work of ungodly nature, was indeed not deemed entitled to existence,—it was regarded as the worst enemy; but now, the new country, though it afforded no full liberty, granted at least a firm and secure place of abode; wherefore its laws were regarded as fully entitled to religious validity. Babylonia was a new home for the Jews, and its language, the Aramaic Chaldean, became almost a sacred language. The Aramæns had formerly been called idolaters; Aramæism had been in hostile antagonism to Judaism; and yet, now the Jews lived among them, enjoyed a favorable and secure position, and hence they identified themselves with their views and language. Even to this day our prayers contain Aramaic portions; they are regarded as sacred, though they are no sounds of Zion. The Aramaic version of the Bible is recognised as the most distinguished one,

partly, no doubt, because it is based upon a faithful and correct rendition of traditional views, but above all, because it came from a country which had become a second home for the Jews. The language of Babylonia, the Aramaic, was preserved for a long time, even when Arabian literature exercised its influence upon Judaism, even after the Arabs had supplanted the remnants and vestiges of a more ancient culture by their own.

When this young nation entered the world's history with its young literature, which for a length of time exercised its fertilizing influence both upon the progress of mankind in general, and upon its higher development in particular; when Arabianism, growing up fast, ruled a large portion of the human race, the great number of Jews who lived in the Arabian-Islamitic territories soon identified themselves with these countries, and fully regarded themselves as members of these nations. It was especially Spain which was likewise inundated by Moslems, but also spiritually fertilized even by that inundation,—it was especially Spain where numerous Jewish Congregations completely affiliated themselves with the inhabitants of the country, adopting its spiritual life, honoring and ennobling its soil as their home,

fertilizing it with the sweat of their brow, drawing from it, through their own industry, the most variegated fruits. Proudly they called themselves "*Sephardim*," following an explanation of a Bible-verse,—which explanation was as little justified as the one adopted by the Babylonian Jews as before-mentioned—: "The dispersed Jews who live in Sepharad," maintaining that "*Sepharad*" meant "*Spain*." With noble pride they regarded their Spain, glorified her in poems, knew to emphasize her virtues, clung to her with the full glow of their hearts. The weary wanderer had found a new, beautiful place of abode, and would no longer look back toward the past: he loved his present time. And after they had been expelled thence, their recollections were nevertheless, and still are, even to this day, to some degree directed toward Spain and Portugal. That the Jews amalgamated themselves also in spirit and in heart with the people of other countries, wherever they found a lasting abode, loved their language, adopted their manners and diffused them farther, even when they were again driven away by the fury of the other inhabitants, we find verified in other instances, although these present no such brilliant aspect. The German language is

heard upon the lips of Jews of the most distant countries, they have preserved it amongst themselves for centuries and thereby saved, as it were, a cue, by means of which, in our days, they connect themselves more closely with German culture; they love these ancient sounds,—they remember thereby a home which, it is true, is irrigated with their life's blood, which has not become for them a firm and peaceful abode, in which, however, they not only breathed freely for some time, but whose spirit also they inhaled. Yes, the wanderer felt that it was his mission to proceed on his pilgrimage through mankind, not merely with fleeting foot, but that he should establish a lasting habitation, in order to live with and among mankind, and work for it.

He well guarded himself against contact with the world without,—he walked about panting, filled only, as it seemed, with the care of the day, his countenance furrowed by wrinkles, his looks gloomy and care-worn. But only enter his frail hut, what will you find there? His impenetrable coat of mail is laid aside, the covers which had surrounded him have been taken off, and a life of cordiality flows from his heart. He is not cold, though he be covered with bandages and mantles,

—he has not an iron nature, though it appear so externally,—he bears within his breast a warm heart, though he be compelled to protect himself against the icy breezes of the outer world. Wherever he finds genial warmth, there he is also warm and genial, and Israel's comfort and fortitude rested in his family, in the faithfulness that encircled the members thereof. Being excluded from the outer world, he protected himself against all its influences and assaults, as long as he had reason to fear hostile approaches; but whenever fresh, spiritual life awoke; whenever vernal breezes, though even only apparently, passed through the world; when new civilization made its appearance, and streams of the spirit traversed the land with their fertilizing waters, there he also knew to draw new life, there he also was intimately bound up with the spirit of the age.

In general, his spirit was never bent down in him, however much depressed his outward carriage. While in dark ages bishops and knights were entirely devoted to ignorance, and the difficult art of reading and writing remained something foreign to them, this remnant of the dispersed Jews still preserved an aspiration to spiritual development, it is true, often but a one-sided one, which would

not always keep pace with progress in life, but still it was a spiritual energy which forever saved their freshness. Canonization of ignorance has never been the rule in Israel; science now and then took a crooked route; their acuteness sometimes went astray; their mind now and then adorned itself with worthless tinsel, but it was ever active. Gigantic works of darker and brighter times are before us, productions of thought and profound spiritual activity, and they awaken our reverence. I do not endorse every word of the Talmud, nor every idea of our Teachers of the middle ages; but I would not lose a tittle thereof; they contain an acumen and power of thought which fill us with reverence for the spirit that animated our ancestors, a fullness of sound sense, salutary maxims—a freshness of opinion often bursts upon us that even to this day exercises its vivifying and inspiring effect upon us.

A new nation, untamed, hitherto roaming wildly about, now entered upon the stage of History, impelled by a lightning-like idea to a new spiritual development; within the boundaries of Arabia a new, civilized world sprung into existence. At the cradle of this new civilization, Judaism likewise stood with its doctrines. Whatever good

elements Islamism contains, whatever lasting thought can be discovered in it, it is indebted therefor to Judaism. With the proclamation, "There is no other God but the One in Unity," the Arabian marched through the world upon his wild charger—and as to that proclamation, he had not obtained it directly from Mount Sinai, but received it from those who carried it as their inheritance through the world. It is the sole fruit-bearing and world-conquering thought which Islamism contained; it adorned that thought and repeated it in shallow, tautological formulas; it garnished it, and this, too, with Jewish views and tales. And hardly a century after its birth, this new religion had soon, in a most remarkable way, conquered not only a large portion of the world, but even tamed the conquerors themselves, and awakened them to a new spiritual life. These nations, which now were standing in their early youth, which had been initiated into that new religion, uncivilized and savage, soon anxiously listened to the word that was delivered to them from Antiquity through the remnants of Hellenism, through the Syrian heathens. The latter had translated the writings of the ancient Greeks, both of the philosophers and the men of other sciences,

into their own idiom, and soon the Arabians possessed themselves of the remnants of Antiquity; they sat at the feet of the ancient Grecian teachers, industrious disciples of their doctrines as they had been transferred to them, became civilized, entered the schools of sciences, and a new culture blossomed and flourished, such as the Middle Ages did produce at no other period. The Jews take part therein; they, too, live therein; they are likewise philosophers and translators, and feel themselves to be kindred of the aspirations that had become awakened in the youthful nation. Yea, the Jews are, as it were, the mediators of this new, spiritual, upward flight, and this, too, in a still higher sense. They remain not among the Arabs; they do not confine themselves, as the Arabs themselves, within their own limits and their own soil; they carry these works everywhere, and scatter the seeds of the new culture far and wide. From the Arabic tongue they are translated into Hebrew, and from the Hebrew into the various languages of Europe: so that the works of Antiquity became known to mediæval Europe even through that channel, and thus, in a measure, spiritual seeds were sown in that time of drought. The Jews are, indeed, often mocked

at as business mediators, as men who peddle with old cast-off clothes from house to house; yes, they have carried the cast-off garments of ancient culture into the houses of the nations of Europe; and if these had not clothed themselves with those remnants, they would have been entirely naked.

But they were not only mediators—they exercised also their influence by original productions. Whatever knowledge there was, in the Middle Ages, of botany, especially of the so-called officinal branch thereof, was gained through a translation of the work of Dioskorides, made with the assistance, and under the direction of a Jew, the body-physician and vizier of a king, *Chasdai ben Isaac Shaprut.* The more distinguished philosophers of the Arabian school, at least a large portion of them, were Jews. Thus the name of *Avicebron* resounds through many writings of the Middle Ages, as that of one of the most original minds. Who was he? It was not known. It was a Jew —*Solomon ben Gabirol.* His name became corrupted into *Avencebrol, Avicebron.** He was an

* Gabirol, or rather Gebirol, should be pronounced Jebirol, g soft, and, by prefixing *aben* (son of), we have Abenjebirol, which could easily pass in the corruption to which proper names are so often subjected into *Avencebrol,* as the Spanish have no Arabic

original thinker and, at the same time, a distinguished poet—a mind upon whose creative power I should desire to dwell somewhat longer. *Maimonides*, *Moses ben Maimon*, a pillar of faith, a mind productive in all departments of Jewish science, was also a thinker, whose cultivation not alone of the soil of Judaism has been of lasting duration, but who has become the teacher of Europe. Albert the Great (Albertus Magnus), has appropriated to himself his best thoughts, and *Thomas Aquinas* has borrowed much from him.

Who can enumerate all the great minds who lived within the Arabian territory, where they developed their spiritual activity and issued the productions of their poetical talent? What a glorious age! what testimony it bears to the power of Judaism, which does not suffer itself to be broken down, which, as long as time and space are afforded it, will develop itself in rich luxuriance! When in Italy poetry revived with new brilliancy, and taste for the Beautiful awoke more

j. But it was left to the ingenuity of *our* learned Solomon Munk to disinter our glorious philosopher's name from the rubbish of ages, and restore to us the credit of having given to the world the author of the Fons Vitae, who is said to have quitted the earth at the early age of twenty-nine years.

ISAAC LEESER.

than the spirit of science, a Jewish poet speedily appeared by the side of Dante; we allude to *Immanuel*, the friend of Dante, intimately connected with him, full of fresh humor; as we may generally find that, despite of all oppression, the Jewish mind never grows weak and weary. Mathematics count many representatives among the Jews. Again, we find a name having a strange sound: *Savasorda!* It is *Abraham ben Chija*, a Spaniard, who lived in the Provence. He was surnamed *Zahib Alshorta*, meaning "*Chief of the Police*," as a large landed proprietor was then named, or, as we would say, "*Governor*," or "*Nassi*," as he was called in Hebrew. By his name Savasorda he is known through the works of the Middle Ages; he would, perhaps, not have been mentioned so often, if it had been known that he was a Jew.

Times grow more enlightened, and everywhere we behold Jews participate, with lively interest, in all that quickens the spirit. The Bible was again discovered, as it were, for the Christians. Who has saved it—this Hebrew Bible? Who has guarded it through fifteen centuries, that it may re-appear again, in later days, in its original form? Canonization of ignorance would have

long ago condemned it;—if it had remained under that protection, we should have lost it; or, perhaps, now discover a little piece of it under an old Palimpsest, under a breviary of a monk; we would now stand before it, guessing with closed eyes, making conjectures about the meaning of words and the contents of the Book, it would appear to us as Assyrian cuneiform letters. It was the care of the Jews that saved one eye of the spiritual world from becoming blind—the eye of Judaism, the Revealed Doctrine; they have preserved it, carried it as their treasure through the world, have explored its hidden spirit with nice understanding, and transferred their own means of instruction to the whole world. Proud Science, that thinks herself independent in our age and justifies to explain the Bible in her own way, employs the very means furnished her by the Jews—she walks about upon crutches borrowed from the Rabbins. As the latter had punctuated and accentuated it, now and then also transformed it, so they have received it and continue to work upon it. The time of a newly-awaking culture had come, and the staff of Judaism became a supporting pillar. Reuchlin, the teacher of Germany, seized, as it were, the two pillars of the

spiritual Temple, and supported himself by them: Hellenism and Judaism — he drew from both sources. Holy ignorance, for that reason laid snares for him—she designed to deliver his works to the ban—her minions grieved wofully because he was not delivered into their power. But he respected the treasures of Judaism thus handed down —many a false treasure perhaps even more, than it deserved. As regards the critical works composed at that time by Jews, such as those of *Elias Levita*, of *Azariah de Rossi*, we cannot now consider them in detail. Time continually progressed, and the Jews with it.

In that land where a beautiful life had flourished for them for a long time, blind fanaticism was mightier than science; the latter had fertilized the land as long as the Arabs occupied it; when they were expelled, science also fled from before the serpent tongue of religious fanaticism. The flame of fanaticism was more and more nurtured by ignorance; it consumed the best powers of the land, and the Jews also were compelled to yield; it was not sufficient to oppress them, for their very breath was regarded as profanation; they were forced to leave a country in which they had dwelt with honor a thousand years, in the

welfare and glory of which they had most brilliantly co-operated. They were forced to emigrate; whatever of their ancient spiritual culture they had saved they carried with them into Turkey, where, however, they could not succeed to raise the barren race of the Ottomans to higher culture. But also to a new country, which had been tributary to, but had made itself independent of Spain, to Holland, they carried, together with their love for their former Spanish fatherland, the ancient remnants of culture and refinement. Holland set the first example in Christendom of proclaiming, if not fully, at least in an essential extent, the principle of religious liberty, and Holland flourished for a long time, both in worldly welfare and spiritual superiority, and in it also its Jewish inhabitants. It was in Holland where a man of Jewish birth, of feeble body, appeared as the harbinger of a new spiritual era, who, though not yet in his life-time, soon was, and still is glorified, even to this day. *Baruch Spinoza* was a native of Amsterdam; he was the originator of a line of new thoughts which thence entered the thinking world and created many reformations. He would not remain a close adherent of the Jewish law, though he never forsook it altogether; but he had

been educated by his ancient Jewish teachers; he had zealously studied Aben Ezra and Maimonides; he rose, supported by Judah Alfakar and Chisdai Kreskas. True, he contended against the Jewish votaries of Aristotle; and yet, they had been his teachers, he had been educated by them in philosophy. He likewise contended against the Kabbalah, and yet had received many an impulse from its doctrines; he changed its doctrine of *Emanation* into that of *Immanation*. Baruch Spinoza laid the foundation of a new philosophy, which has become the mother of many modern philosophies; he was a character of granite, a real thinker, and so, also, is his system an edifice of granite. Others have hewn little stones from that granite rock, and introduced them into other masses, and thus created new systems; but they emanated from his edifice. Has he found the truth? I can hardly assume it; but that he has become a teacher of mankind, that he has freed it from many errors and prejudices, and mightily stirred up the spirits; that he was the father of a new spiritual life and the creator of free, biblical criticism, is an uncontrovertible fact. The poor crystal-cutter of Amsterdam has not passed through the world without leaving the traces of his fertilizing creations behind him.

Let us not enter farther into later times—let us forego the mention of many a more modern brilliant name; those times are yet too recent, that their contemplation would not be regarded as vainglorious self-admiration.

And now a new age strives to work itself into existence. We have not yet altogether conquered the Middle Ages, but its pillars are greatly shattered; what once was its staff of support, is now proven to be but a feeble splint. As yet, no new idea strives earnestly to possess itself of the world by its fertilizing influence; as yet, no new spiritual breeze passes through the withered leaves of mankind; but it prepares itself for the new age—sound science, clear understanding must examine and illumine everything. That science, which, despairing of itself and aware of its own weak mind, denies the existsnce of a spirit, shows up with triumphant mien the apparatus of a system of bones, and thereby believes to have given an explanation of man, will with shame retire: it will yield to the healthful science which respects the spirit, and has a presentiment of the Spirit of all spirits. This science will anew enliven the world, and go hand-in-hand with Judaism, which has ever been permeated and quickened by such ideas.

How, then, are *we* prepared for that new age? There are many over-educated and sensual ones that would willingly throw away all ancient treasures, bend their knees before power, and divest themselves of their own character and their past as something valueless: they are fragile vessels, unavailable as instruments for the acceleration of a spiritually healthful time. There are also zealots among us who, merely looking back upon the ancient time, cling with intense affection to the garment that was worn in the Middle Ages, and would not cast off the rude and coarse coat of mail; who would use the dagger of suspicion and the poison of calumny against every new aspiration: they, likewise, are unavailable as instruments for the acceleration of that new time. The Pharisees, also, with their strict observance of ceremonies, vegetate, covering themselves up, and clinging with fervency to all that has been handed down from ancient times: they are permeated, it is true, by the ancient spirit, but void of fresh and refreshing vigor. But where is the new Hillel, with his mild, clear eye, with his loving enthusiasm, with his healthful, spiritual power, that he may co-operate in the furtherance of the new time? Whenever he shall appear—and surely he will

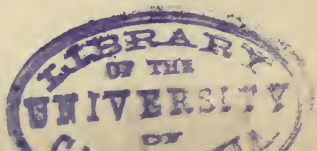
not fail us—he will again pronounce, perhaps in another form, his ancient maxim: "If I am not for myself, who shall then be for me?" "Thou beloved pilgrim, do not look back continually," thus he will speak, "do not cast thy eye continually towards the past! Jerusalem is a grave which we honor, but the new life springeth not from the grave; you must draw from the living present and turn it to profit. If I do not work and create from the very spirit innate within me as it is linked with the spirit of the Revealed Doctrine, if *we* do not produce from that, who then, shall do it?"—"And if I am but for myself alone, what am I then?" "If I do not identify myself with mankind, I do not fulfill my duty. Thou, beloved pilgrim, cast off thy rough coat of mail, contact with the world is no longer dangerous; cast off the coverings that hide and disfigure thee; it is no longer an icy, freezing breeze that breathes upon thee—love will blossom up everywhere; thou hast a warm heart, and the whole of mankind wishes to lean upon it; thou must with fresh love embrace the whole. Lo! the cover is not the spirit, and the rough coat of mail is not the essence."—"And if not now, when then?" "If not now, when the spirit of Judaism yet animates its members—if

nothing is done now, if no places are now built from whence the treasures of Antiquity may fertilize the world, new seeds may be strewn for the future; if indifference increase in Israel, if they throw away the ancient treasures as worthless; if truly Jewish knowledge and science, the proclamation of the Revealed Doctrine be not now furthered; if drawing from this eternally fresh fountain be not now encouraged—when then? Is it to be done only then, when everything shall be encoffined—when we shall find on one side nothing but dead bones, and, on the other, only ashes?" With such words the new Hillel will, on his re-appearance, encourage the pilgrim unto new energy, unto cheerful co-operation for the new spiritual sowing; he will proclaim it with fiery tongue, with that victorious enthusiasm which conquers all calculating hesitancy. The time will come—Judaism has not yet fulfilled its mission; Judaism is not concluded in the world's History, it was not closed eighteen centuries ago, nor is it in our day; it progresses *with* mankind upon its victorious march, and glorifies it with its mild rays.

APPENDIX.

RÉNAN AND STRAUSS.

NEARLY thirty years ago, Strauss performed the great deed of writing a critical work on the Life of Jesus, and showed that the records of this Life, being contradictory in themselves and in conflict with each other, contained no real history, but merely myths sprung into existence among the first Christian Congregation with regard to the person of Jesus; but that these very myths resulted from the Messianic belief, and were based upon expectations which were brought into connection with the coming Messiah, or with events in the lives of other divine men, which were either distinctly foretold in the Bible or interpreted into it. And all that remained as truly historical was very doubtful, except the existence of the person himself. Now, Strauss had



then just emerged fresh from the school of Hegel, which, accustomed to convert historical facts into an unsubstantial dialectic process, to regard events of the past as initiatory phases of later, finished ideas, had long before viewed the facts of incipient Christianity—without however, denying their historical character—as the garbs of higher ideas, and asserted that these hidden ideas had been brought to light and made perfectly clear in philosophy—of course in the Hegelian philosophy. It called its philosophy the Absolute Philosophy; it represented Christianity, which is respected as a ruling religious power, as the incarnation of this philosophy, as the popular, yet unripe religious conception, preceding the full, clear idea, and called it the Absolute Religion.

On this wise the Hegelian School had persuaded itself and others, that it not only was in perfect accord with the belief of the church, but raised it even to the dignity of inviolable, philosophic certainty, it imprinted the stamp of the highest spiritual perfection upon it.

Strauss, with his love of truth and his clear, critical acumen, destroyed this cobweb in which the Hegelian School clothed itself as in a saintly garment; he shook the whole foundation of the be-

lief in the undoubted historical person, upon which even, it is well known, the belief of the Church rests. Yet, he, too, was of the opinion, that the philosophical ideas of his School had found an expression, however unripe, in those views presenting themselves as history, although they were without reality; and that, therefore, the essence of Christianity thus expressed in greater purity through the channel of philosophical ideas should be truly preserved.* Whereupon he not only was contented himself, but he even believed that the Church could and should be satisfied with what had thus been saved. But it became too soon evident that the Church was not at all satisfied, to see the One Person, whom she adored as her highest Ideal, nay, even as a superhuman being, yield his place to the Whole Human Race, which continually developes itself, struggles, suffers, dies, rises again, ascends to heaven in a glorified state, etc., etc.

Although he gallantly defended himself on one hand, in the struggle that broke out against him upon all sides, yet, on the other, it appeared

* As a consequence of this opinion, he designated the popular legends, as which he regarded the histories, rather as myths, because these are held to be ideas couched in a poetical garb.

to him that a possibility was presented enabling him, without renouncing either the results of criticism or the demands of philosophy, to effect a reconciliation with the ancient belief of the Church, with the worship of the Individual. "The Idea," thus he expressed himself in his '*Leaf of Peace*' published afterwards, "manifests itself in the fullness of its radiations only in a whole community, yet it appears with such force in individuals especially gifted, that they seem unapproachable, that we look upon them as the embodiment of the Idea, and dedicate to them a 'Worship of Genius.' Do we not behold the art of poetry, of painting manifested in their highest possible perfection, in certain persons who do not appear as types of an extreme degree of a long development, but rather as the first of their time whom others of a later time seek to approach: why, then, could not an individual as the Author of a Religion, have been a genius of religious sentiment worthy of adoration, or at least of emulation?"

Strauss stopped here and, for a long time, turned his back upon the whole subject. As may be expected, the commotion conjured up by him was not set at rest. Some seeing that the very centre

had been unhesitatingly assailed, sought to defend the more obstinately the outposts which they had before almost surrendered; others thought they could, by way of compromise, the more securely save that part which to them appeared to be the more important one, if they would yield the apparently less important and tenable branch. But soon critical results were again arrived at, though from a different starting point. A system came into existence which, though likewise the offspring of the Hegelian School, pursued the development and perfection of the ideas within Christianity rather in the interest of dogmatic history: it is the so-called "*Tuebingen School.*" *Baur*, its author and, for many years, its unflinching leader, and some especially gifted disciples of his were compelled, in their researches made for that purpose, to examine the events during the first centuries of the history of Christianity; gradually they arrived at the historical result, that the manifold dogmatic differences which disturbed especially the first periods, could not be regarded as an apostacy from convictions previously settled, but presented a process of fermentation whence Christianity only gradually issued in a clarified state, henceforth to remain its fixed form. Christianity, such was the

result of which they became more and more convinced—is not a new spiritual system created suddenly and by one man, but the product of a spiritual commotion which passed through two centuries and was composed of a number of various agencies. The author of the new religion who, until then, had been regarded as the creator of Christianity completed, was divested of this dignity by the result of such researches; yet, the honor of having given the impulse to these commotions was left him; no doubt, they admitted also that he should be regarded, according to the theory of Strauss, as an overwhelming individuality who could give such a powerful impulse; nay, even as a Religious Genius who, anticipating the developments effected after him by toil and labor, had already fully comprehended them with intuitive ingenuity. Properly speaking, the assumption of the later view was not merely superfluous, but even contradictory. For what purpose should that which emerged from the commotion of the minds in their severe conflict, have in advance existed as a barren conclusion in the soul of an Individual? But still more! If the Master had indeed arrived at that high degree which is attributed to Christianity accomplished, how

is it possible that his immediate disciples, who, in their continuous intercourse with him saw him act, and to whom as his chosen Apostles he opened his inmost soul and intrusted his best treasure, rendered his doctrine in an entirely different shape from what it afterwards assumed and would be ascribed to its author! But soon this conclusion was formed, that during the internal conflict in the first centuries the Apostles proper had been by no means the standard-bearers of the doctrine which worked its way towards victory, but that it was compelled gradually to yield to a later conception, as whose representative especially Paul, the Apostle to the heathens, was regarded. And thus the person of Paul appearing as the type of the progressive movement of the spirit, gained a prominent position in the foreground; whereas the first author of the new religion more and more receded. This theory was not distinctly enunciated in that School—they simply spoke of a so-called "*Ideal Christ*," that is the Idea of Christianity complete; how much might remain of the "*Historical Christ*," was left undecided.

The clear knowledge of this conflict of the spirits at the beginning of the Christian era, opened also a wider insight into an investigation of the

Gospels, and the other writings of original Christianity, nay, it made a more searching criticism necessary. The most ancient monuments of incipient Christianity must be likewise speaking witnesses of that conflict which roused the spirits to such a high degree; they must exhibit in distinctive characters the questions of those times; nay, even the diversity of the records—for there are four Gospels—and the contradictions among them can have been occasioned only by the intentions more or less present in the minds of the narrators, to attribute the different shades of their own religious convictions to the efforts of their Master. This knowledge has been mightily furthered by Gospel criticism and an insight into the inner process of the development of Christianity; but, at the same time, it has enveloped in the greater darkness all that its author did, intended and taught. If, according to Strauss, all records appear to be legendary, intending to represent all former expectations as having been fulfilled in the Author of Christianity, which realization through him must be regarded as unhistorical: another circumstance was added, to wit, that their own newly invented creations likewise presented themselves as acts and doctrines of Christ, and thus ob-

secured his character still more. And thus the School under consideration has not ventured to draw a full picture of the Author of Christianity; it lacked all material for it, because both the Past and Future had so elaborated that picture, that the living Present had become completely indiscernable. Besides, he had been reduced to a single momentum in the great fact of the existence of Christianity; to know this fact in its entirety, in its demonstrable phases of development, was of greater importance than to trace the single, less comprehensible momentum.

If then, all at once two works have appeared, treating on "the Life of Jesus" from the standpoint of that School, we must, properly speaking, regard them as a retrogressive step. This, however, is less the case with the French author. That process of thought had not yet been altogether consummated in France. It is true, the first "Life of Jesus" by Strauss, had been translated into French; the literary works of the Tuebingen School had been known, accepted and discussed within a certain circle of Theologians; but they had not yet arrived at that point of independent research and elaboration. Mr. Rénan, there-

fore, was fully justified to commence again, for France, with his "Life of Jesus." And yet, he has not stopped there. He does not desire that his book should be regarded a whole work completed; he represents it as a part of a larger work calculated to treat upon the growth of Christianity during the first three centuries—as a mere introduction to a full and elaborate disquisition. Our German fares worse in this respect. He regards his task accomplished by his work, he means to treat of the "Life of Christ" exclusively—and this too, after having accomplished his task already thirty years ago, as far as it could at all be performed from his stand-point—presenting in his work a critical disquisition on the records of the Life of Jesus which have reached us—a task which, in our day, may be more correctly and clearly executed, in consequence of the new views gained, but can hardly present a new work calculated for popular use. While, indeed, the second part of Strauss's new work is merely a recast of his former critical analysis with an omision of a large portion of learned matter: he means, like Rénan—who, however, blends both parts—to offer in the first part a positive exposition of real historical facts. But here we behold the evil result of a mode

of proceeding unjustified by science; which, again, is more manifest in Strauss's than in Rénan's work. For while we must accord the palm of superiority to the German author as far the critical element is concerned, it must be admitted that his historical exposition—even aside from the historical art which, with Rénan, is more of a poetic, divinatory kind than a true analysis of the material presented—is far more unreliable, is far less permeated by a historical spirit than that of the French scholar. The latter has this advantage, that he intermingles criticism with his narrative; introducing as he does a larger portion of the records—it is true, often in a very uncritical and arbitrary manner—as genuine history, he has a far richer material left him; lastly, he regards Jesus as a person struggling and contending with himself, who rises superior to all obstacles and relapses, until death relieves him in the right time before he could desert his mission. Strauss, on the other hand, at first presents us a history, and afterwards he proves the fallibility of the records, so that, when we have arrived at the conclusion of his work, we look about with uncertainty for the rest from which he had before compiled his history; of the inner growth, of the development of the

person of Jesus—which, after all, is the real object of biography—we learn nothing; in the very beginning he presents his person in a finished state.

But how does this man appear in both works? Here we behold the rock against which the feeble bark was wrecked as soon as it ventured to pass from the waters of historical criticism into those of biography. Every attempt at biography is attended with dangers. As soon as we take up an Individual, as a fixed object, from the fleeting stream of History, we thereby ascribe to him a higher importance and run more and more into the temptation to justify our course in our description of the character of the subject of our biography; compelled to group around him the facts connected with him, we are easily led to the misconception to deduce them from him, and thus he becomes the centre and representative of the historical development, of which, in fact, he was but a single part, a single agent by the side of many others. The interest which an earnest author takes in the subject of his treatise, passes over to the appreciation of the person; he is led astray to overrate him, to emphasize, more than unpreju-

diced criticism can admit, his light-sides, to gloss the shady parts of the picture, and to excuse his foibles: in fine, a biographer easily turns into an advocate, into a eulogist. Such being the danger attending every biographical work, how much greater must it be when its subject is a person who is closely connected with one of the grandest events in History,—who has hitherto been regarded not merely as one of its impelling or co-operating agents, but as its exclusive originator. However critically unprejudiced the author of such a work may be, as soon as he disengages such an agent from all his co-agents, he cannot avoid ascribing to him greater credit than he would do himself in a combination of all co-operating causes, —he would not be willing to deviate too far from the ancient beaten track,—he would not desire to make the transition from the views hitherto entertained to his own, too sudden, too steep. And if, after all, criticism proves, that very little of all that the ancient records present can be relied upon, then the author is left to himself, to his own combination, to the picture moving before his own imagination, and in this light he will represent his hero. But critical truth suffers shipwreck thereby.

Such has been the fate of both works;—each fared ill in its own way, neither less than the other. In the work of Rénan, Jesus appears, in fact, as a visionary hypercritic, greatly vacillating;—now as a pronounced national Jew, and then again as a cosmopolite;—now as initiated into ascetics by John the Baptist, and then as rising above all outward forms;—now as conquering all obstacles by the most amiable meekness, and then again as getting angry at his own failures and despairing of himself, and, withal, devoid of all endowments for a higher spiritual culture, and neglecting all attempt to aspire to it; and after having been finally introduced into very suspicious preparations for deceptive miracles, into very low morals which our author defends with oratorial pathos, and even praises, because they belong to a creative time, to a period filled with an Idea, which and must not, therefore, be estimated with our short measure: we arrive at a glorification of Jesus, as being a model of highest religious and moral perfection for all times, an Ideal which has, as yet, not been sufficiently understood and much less reached; though he should not be adored as a God, yet he must be looked upon as an Ideal of Humanity, as a "demigod." Thus

the epos worthily closes with a surprise; but when we have shut the book, calmly weigh its contents in our mind, and render its poetry into sober prose, then we shall find that its hero has dissolved into vapor in the course of this necessary chemical process of thought. But the claims presented to us by the historian prove to be entirely illegitimate.

Nor do we fare better with Strauss. He guards against all flights of the imagination, he spares us all suspense that might be caused by a contemplation of mental struggles; he presents Jesus in unapproachable tranquillity, in lofty dignity. Even the Preface announces him as "that individual in whom the deeper conciousness of man's own nature first became a supreme all-pervading influence,"* and at the conclusion of the work our author maintains: "Among the improvers of the ideal of humanity Jesus stands at all events in the first class. He introduced features into it which were wanting to it before, or had continued undeveloped; reduced the dimensions of others which prevented its universal application; imparted into it, by the religious aspect

* Page xviii.

which he gave it, a more lofty consecration, and bestowed upon it, by embodying it in his own person, the most vital warmth; while the Religious Society which took its rise from him provided for this ideal the widest acceptance among mankind." † But when we inquire after the facts underlying this picture, Strauss refuses to present real acts, since he does not recognize those related as historical; and a great portion of which, if they were truly historical, would, indeed, contradict his views, and could be explained only by the assumption of an anticipation of a time immediately following. Thus, then, his description of the character of Jesus is not predicated upon real facts, but upon teachings and sentences many of which, also, must be rejected, because they originated at a later period; but some must be decidedly regarded as genuine and thus ought to afford the best testimony for that loftier character. Strauss, indeed, points out (p. 253) some of "that rich collection of sentences or gnomes, as they are found in the Gospels,"—"of those pregnant texts which, even independent of their religious worth are so invaluable for the clear penetration, the unerring warmer sense expressed in them."

† Page 625.

Let us consider these pregnant texts which alone are said to be entitled to such proud claims of their own. "Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and to God that which is God's." If this sentence is to be taken in that sense which a later application attributed to it, to wit: that the domains of the religious and civil bonds, of State and Church, should be separated; that each of them should be recognized on its own soil and according to its prerogatives, then we rejoice at the tangible expression in which the idea is couched. But even here another opinion of Strauss excites our doubts. Considering his admission (page 626) that "in the pattern exhibited by Jesus in his doctrine and in his life, some sides being finished to perfection, others were only faintly sketched, or not indicated at all;" that, in elaborating this idea, he continues, "his relation towards the body politic appears simply passive:" we must soon conclude, that the above-cited sentence does not at all contain the beautiful idea of the claims of the Body Politic; that Jesus did not recognize them at all, but merely tolerated political organizations. But that, in general, the meaning of that sentence is quite different from the one ascribed to it when it was elevated to a gnome under

altered circumstances and other contemplations of life, is proven both by its text and origin. According to its meaning now generally adopted, it would imply the command, that the thing should be given to Caesar which he has a right to claim, but not that which already "*is* Caesar's," which fully belongs to him already,—for this is a matter of course. But Jesus employs this sentence for a reply to a question of the Pharisees, whether they should pay tribute to the Emperor, to Rome; and this, too, after he had made them show him a coin with the Emperor's image upon it. The Pharisees, being the party of conciliation, did not refuse to pay tribute; it was their principle, with all their attachment to their faith and country, hence, with all their readiness to give unto God all of which they could dispose as of a divine gift, not recklessly to rebel, on the other hand, against their ruler, but rather to give to the Emperor that to which he had a just claim according to the existing circumstances. But the *Kannaim*, the "*Zealots*" repudiated such pliant weakness, condemned the payment of tribute to Rome as apostacy from faith and country. The Pharisees and Herodians —as we find the name in Matthew and Mark, that is, the *Boethusim*, the priestly family and ad-

herents of Herod,—who regarded the assertion of Jesus that he was the Messiah both as a criminal religious presumption and implying a dangerous political agitation, were compelled to suspect that he would, like the "Zealots," repudiate the payment of tribute to Rome; and thus he would have at once afforded a pretext for delivering him as a rebel to the hands of wordly justice. Jesus cunningly evaded this temptation without turning traitor to his own principles. That the piece of money was provided with the image and superscription of the Emperor showed, that men still moved within the conditions of this world which, after all, "*was*" Rome's, "*was*" Caesar's,—not: ought to belong to him; give unto him, he replied, that which he has already, until the future world shall appear, when all things will be God's, and you will have to pay unto Him all tribute. Judging from his standpoint, this reply may have been appropriate, even cunning; but it cannot claim authority for all times, it reveals no insight into the nature of the Body Politic, that is to say, an especial "clear penetration, an unerring common sense."

As a second example, our author quotes the sentence: "No man putteth a new patch unto an

old garment—neither do men put new wine into old bottles." What this sentence is intended to express is well known; but I have great doubts as to the propriety of its text and its general acceptation. As regards a new patch upon an old garment, we are at a loss to find a correct meaning for the figure. An old patch suits undoubtedly far less for an old torn garment than a new patch; for if a garment, though old, be still useful, and shows but a rent, one will certainly take a new patch in order to mend the damage and preserve the whole garment for some time longer. If, therefore, Matthew (ix, 16) and Mark (ii, 21) add: "for that which is put in to fill up taketh from the garment and the rent is made worse," they commit, as far as I understand such matters, a direct error. Luke seems to have felt this, for he somewhat reverses the metaphor by quoting the sentence (v, 36) in this manner: "No man putteth a piece *of a new garment*" upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old." But this reversion of the sentence entirely changes the truth to be conveyed by the parable, and evidently does not correspond with its original object. According to Matthew and

Mark, Jesus, following up the observation that the disciples of the Baptist and the Pharisees, but not his, might fast, means to say, that it is of no avail to cover an old, torn system of religious views with a few new ideas, but it must be reformed to its very foundation; so far the parable is appropriate, but cannot be applied also to a garment. Now, while Luke intends to improve the parable, he destroys the meaning conveyed by it. For according to him, the system of new views must be completely established and carried into practical execution and a piece taken from it, so that it would be rent, while the new patch must give a checkered aspect to the old system, which would not correspond with the idea intended to be conveyed. At all events, the more ancient form of the sentence is such as it is uniformly recorded in Matthew and Mark, and as also Strauss has transcribed it; but in this form the metaphor, as being little to the point, seems to have roused already the suspicion of Luke. The same can be said of the second part. That new wine, while in process of fermentation, may easily break the bottles, is correct; but that old bottles, if they are at all still useful for preserving liquors, are more liable to burst than new ones, I am inclined

to doubt. Even the latter are more apt to burst on account of their fresh tension, as expressed also by the author of *Job* (xxxii, 19), to which verse only forced interpretation could attribute the meaning of the passage from the Gospels. Thus, then, the form of the sentence, the simile, is badly selected. But, then, should the idea intended to be conveyed by it, be adopted without any limitation at all? The sentence taken in its general acceptation is in conflict with all historical development, the law of which even consists in gradual reform, in the interpenetration of the old elements by new ones. It has an intelligible meaning only—and this, too, in a Paulinian sense—for the commotion of that time, which was opposed to Judaizing Christianity, as being a mingling of ancient custom with the new Messianism. Now, such being the case—and in this sense it is still more elaborated by Luke who had the new system completely finished before him—it can not be at all ascribed to Jesus, but belongs to the time after him, when the internal struggle commenced. And, indeed, this sentence is very loosely, nay, even contradictorily attached to the preceding reply. If the disciples, as stated in the preceding passages under consideration, do not then fast,

because the bridegroom is with them, but would do it after the latter shall have been taken from them: the sentence does not at all inveigh against ancient custom, but designates it as only untimely for the moment, again to become appropriate at a future season. But the appendix assumes a different standpoint, that of a later period, which intends to have all ancient custom abolished for all time to come.

Both the expression and idea of the sentence, "if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee," are of very doubtful value. The other: "take first the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye," was, as is evident from the Talmud, an adage in general use at that time. The other two sentences: "they that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;" and "not seven times shalt thou forgive thy brother who offends thee, but seventy times seven," are of a very ordinary kind. If Strauss adds with emphasis, "these are imperishable words, for in them truths that are every day getting fresh corroboration are enclosed in a form that exactly suits them and is at the same time universally intelligible," the otherwise unpreju-

diced thinker can have been blinded only by the rich application which has been made of them in the course of centuries, and this, too, with a partial sublimation of their original meaning. In comparison with the rich treasure of sentences, whose single pearls are strewn about, one is tempted to say, with the lavish carelessness of a rich man, in the Talmudical literature, those aphorisms of Jesus are of no account whatever.

But Strauss is determined, at all hazards, to see the subject of his work represented as the incarnation of the human ideal, even if he should be forced to assume that history had taken a retrogressive movement. When we read expressions such as on page 140: "Luke and Mark undoubtedly did right when they omitted from the instructions, to the twelve, the command not to turn to the Gentiles and Samaritans, as this prohibition in the account of the first Gospel had probably only proceeded from the notions of prejudiced Jewish Christians;" when we read soon afterwards: "If we suppose that the first disciples of Jesus did not fully understand him, that the standpoint of the first Church remained behind his own, and that our older Evangelists,

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especially Matthew, are also upon the standpoint of the most ancient Church, ... and if we lay down the speech in Matthew, about the indestructibility of even the smallest letter of the Law, and that in John about the worshipping of God in spirit and in truth, as the two most opposite extremes, it is very doubtful to which of these two points we are to suppose the historical Jesus to have come the nearest"; or when he says, on page 318, of "the phantastic mood of the most ancient Churches," that "it had been in many respects a relapse into Jewish views;" or when, on page 616, the fact that Mark "names, as the signs which are to characterize believers, the power to cast out devils, to speak with new tongues, to lift up snakes, to drink deadly poison without harm, to heal the sick by laying on of hands," is to show, "at how early a period in the Church a superstitious feeling directed only to signs and wonders begun to smother the genuine spirit of Jesus;" when we read these and similar expressions, we no longer recognize in them an unprejudiced, historical spirit, but the forced deduction of an Apologist.

Many of the passages quoted by us show that

Strauss approaches his assertions with uncertain and hesitating step, and yet, in other places, he plunges into them unhesitatingly. His critical conscience must necessarily have stung him when he acted thus; for such assumptions rob all settled historical results, in which modern research glories, of their true value. If it be true that Christianity evolved itself only from a struggle of a more ancient system with a later Paulinian, it is impossible that this later, more perfect form has been known and taught in all its perfection, nay, even in a far higher degree, by its original author. It is impossible that all his immediate disciples, and all the churches established by them, should have not only completely misunderstood the intentions of their master, should have become apostates from his teachings, but even contended against his views and purposes with the most determined vehemence, as soon as they were presented to them, in a manner of mere allusion, by Paul, who had neither known him nor heard anything especial of him, and that they gained the ascendency only by the pressure of events. And even Paul is said to have arrived at them only approximatively; for the author is represented as having possessed a far higher conception than that

which Paul effected by scholastic dialectics; and thus, properly speaking, the spirit of the former has remained unknown to this day. Whenever an author enunciates new views, they may, for a time, be ignored, or accommodated to the ruling opinions to be perceived only, with greater clearness, by a later generation; but when a teacher unhesitatingly pronounces his convictions which are diametrically opposed to the ruling convictions, with the most determined emphasis, and "in a form that exactly suits them and is at the same time universally intelligible," by word of mouth to those with whom he holds personal intercourse, gives them the most distinct expression by all his acts, accepts the contest with the ruling powers, and willingly dies for them: can the men who were unceasingly around him, who were prepared by him for his missionaries and devoted themselves to this mission with the greatest self-sacrifice, can the Congregations who gathered around these, can all these, however weak their mental powers may have been without exception, have so completely misunderstood such a teacher, that they repudiated all his doctrines, whereas other points which he peremptorily repudiated or, at least, did not emphasize, or, at best, merely

tolerated, should have been made by them the centre and substance of a new system? It is represented that Jesus broke down the barrier between Jews and non-Jews; his disciples adhere to them with determination, rebuke "heathens and Samaritans" as outcasts, inveigh against the adherents of Paul who receive these, as apostates, as "Baleamites." Jesus abolishes the authority of the Jewish law and ceremonies; his disciples emphatically enforce them, assert their everlasting validity, say that "it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail," are indignant at the assault made upon them at a later period. Jesus repudiates signs and wonders; his disciples refer to them time and again, and on this point the fullest unanimity has existed to this day. On the other hand, a conviction comprising all views after Jesus fills all as an unshaken faith, namely: that Jesus was the Messiah, commissioned, as such, to bring about a new epoch for the world, and that he, though he died, would soon rise again and return vested with unlimited power to introduce the new epoch with a general rigorous judgment. What is the relation between the modern apologetics of Jesus, as thereby represented, and that faith? Strauss devotes a

separate chapter to this subject (*chapter* 39), and we must transcribe here his own words, omitting only all unessential parts. He says:

"Jesus speaks in the Gospels of the coming of the Son of Man, *i. e.* of his own second coming at a later though not a distant period, when he will appear in the clouds of heaven, in divine glory, and accompanied by angels to awake the dead, to judge the quick and the dead, and to open his kingdom, the kingdom of God in Heaven. To a human being no such thing as he here prophesied of himself could happen. If he did prophesy it of himself, and expect it himself, he is for us nothing but a fanatic: if, without any conviction on his own part he said it of himself, he was a braggart and an impostor. We find the speeches of Jesus about his second coming in all four Gospels, nay, we find them in the three first, which we acknowledge as the repository of much genuine historical tradition, at greater length and more definite than in the fourth. What then is here to be done? Shall we make him bear the burden of them all in the full meaning of the words, and therefore be compelled to admit that he was a fanatic and not a common one either? . . . With

our Christian habits of thought it might be better to our taste; but if it came out as an historical result, our habits would have to give way. Nor shall it be said that a fanatic would not have produced the historical effects which Jesus did produce, would not have the sound and lofty views which up to this point have been analyzed. . . . It is no unusual phenomenon to see high spiritual gifts and moral endowments tempered with an ingredient of enthusiasm. That Jesus, according to the Evangelical accounts, considered his second advent so near that he said to his disciples that there were some among those standing round him who should not taste of death until they had seen the Son of Man coming in his kingdom, ... that, therefore, he was greatly mistaken with reference to the date, ... all this, on our point of view, does not make the case at all worse. So much the less can we feel ourselves tempted to one of the violent explanations which the theologians have here taken up, in a regular conflict with the words of the text. But also by the coming of Jesus himself we cannot, if his words are rightly reported to us, understand an invisible and gradual development, *i. e.* the natural develop-

ment of the effects of his action upon earth, but only one visible and sudden, a miraculous catastrophe. But when Jesus in the principal passage of Matthew (xxiv, 30 ff., xxv, 31 ff.) says, ... such a description resists every attempt to give it a merely symbolical meaning. . . . It cannot, indeed, be overlooked that the speeches referring to this point have undergone later modifications of various kinds. All this, however, does not touch the point itself with which we are here concerned. Jesus promised to return in his kingdom; and now the question is, how he spoke on other occasions of his kingdom, especially whether he represented it as the same as that which he founded during his human existence, or as that which he would open on the occasion of his second advent. Jesus separated from the present as a time of preparation a future as that of perfection, from this life as a period of service (?) a life to come as that of recompense, and with the beginning of this perfection he connected a change in the world to be brought about by God. This appears not only in all the Gospels in the most decided manner, if these are supposed to have any historical validity whatever, but we may assume also that it would

be so from mere historical analogy. But if Jesus had once attained to this conviction, as of course he had, if he distinguished between this present earthly existence and a future one in the kingdom of God, whether in heaven or on the renovated earth, and if he conceived of the opening of the latter as a miraculous act of God, then it is indifferent in what nearer or more distant period he placed this act, and it would be nothing more than a human error if he expected it after the shortest possible delay, and announced this expectation for the consolation of his followers. Moreover, we cannot tell whether his followers, in the troubles and distress after his first departure, may not have consoled themselves by putting into his mouth prophecies of this kind of a near approach of the more blessed constitution of the world. In all these speeches there is but one point that creates a difficulty, and that is that Jesus should have connected with his own person that miraculous change, the beginning of the ideal state of recompense, that he should have declared himself to be the Being who will come with the clouds of Heaven in the company of angels, in order to waken the dead and to hold judgment. The expectation of such a thing on one's own be-

half, is something quite different from a general expectation of it, and he who expects it of himself and for himself, will not only appear to us in the light of a fanatic, but we see also an unallowable self-exaltation in a man so putting himself above every one else as to contrast himself with them as their future judge. If, indeed, Jesus was convinced that he was the Messiah, and referred the prophecy in Daniel to the Messiah, he must have expected, in accordance with it, some time or other to come with the clouds of Heaven."

With this "*indeed*" our author closes his uncertain groping after the *Pros* and *Cons.* And with what impression does an unprejudiced reader take leave of this disquisition? If he be indeed unprejudiced, he will, I opine, reject this bran new apologetic essay as worthless, and take this fact as established by history: Jesus alleged of himself that he was the Messiah, that, therefore, his appearance was the inauguration of the new world. He found believers and, after his death, this belief in him still continued; the advent of the new world was expected from day to day at the time of his near return—he was already looked upon as having risen from the dead. He himself

may have expected that this wonderful advent of the new world would happen without the necessity of his previous death; with his death this expectation was changed as before stated.

And this, indeed, is all that we are able historically to establish concerning him; it is sufficient for an explanation not only of his appearance, but also of all consequences that followed it. This historical fact must not be garbled, must not be weakened, nor must other facts not belonging thereto be added, lest new confusion be caused. Thus it is entirely out of place to represent him as believing in his divine sonship, in an eminent sense of the term, or that of the Messiah as *logos*, and above all, it is mystification to attribute to him the character of a universal God-man as taught by the Hegelian School. The theory that he abandoned national and legal Judaism must likewise be rejected in all respect, and solely ascribed to a later evolution. Nor can the nobler religious and moral opinions and doctrines which are placed in his mouth and heart—though we should attribute them to him and acknowledge their excellence with the necessary qualifications—be regarded as his own in this sense, that he was their author, that he was the first who entertained

and proclaimed them, but, at the utmost, that he adopted them, appropriated them to himself as he had found them in works of an earlier date.

And here we have arrived at a point which, above all, is to us a starting point, but concerning which Christian science has to this day not attained to a clear understanding. It not only lacks the necessary knowledge, but also—however heavy this charge may be, all experiences prove its accuracy—the unenvious recognition of the excellency of others. And in this respect also, each of our authors occupies his own peculiar position, although, ultimately, they meet in the same error. Mr. Rénan takes a run at justice, does not refuse the necessary means for a clearer understanding, but at last—as he is wont to treat his ideal pattern—to take a hazardous step backward. Mr. Strauss has made up his mind at the very outset, on this point he fully adheres to ancient apologetics, repeats the old exploded ideas concerning the Judaism of that time, is unacquainted with recent investigations, and although we cannot charge him with intentionally ignoring them, yet we cannot but blame him for this, that he did not use the necessary care to inform himself of them.

Every one who contemplates the origin of Christianity with a historical eye must come to the conclusion that he must regard and examine the three co-operating agencies: the Palestinean Judaism of that time, the Hellenistic Judaism, and the Roman-Grecian culture. It is perfectly natural to us, that former authors who, from the start, took side with a certain party, regarded these agencies through the spectacles of their party, and represented them accordingly. Palestinean Judaism fared ill at the hands of all. Some painted it in very black colors, to make Christianity, standing out from this dark ground, appear in the more lucid brilliancy. Others who confessed that Christianity had defects ascribed them to the Judaism of that time; whatever in Christianity did not meet with their favor, was called Jewish prejudice, which had not altogether been overcome at the first birth of the new religion, but had to yield with its growing strength, or must yet yield. Of men who mean to know and describe the life of Jesus from a purely historical point of view we can demand and expect, that they should more closely examine into the three agencies above mentioned. They could, indeed, pass by Hellenistic Judaism and Heathen Culture, because both were unknown

to Jesus and only co-operated in the later development of Christianity—nay, they were compelled to throw them into the background, otherwise they would have favored the error that Jesus had been influenced by these elements; but they were bound the more closely to examine the rock from which Christianity was first hewn, the fountain from which Jesus himself, and even exclusively, drew his knowledge. Rénan, indeed, distinctly denies all influence of the other two agencies, and as he can and must do for his present purposes, abstains from all further examination into them. But he earnestly seeks to illustrate the Judaism of that time, carefully informs himself of all modern researches, speedily appropriates them to himself, and makes ready to expose the contents of the source whence Jesus had drawn, with unprejudiced and just mind. If now and then many a harsh and perverted opinion creeps in, it must be accounted for by the fact that, after all, his material is still insufficient. On the other hand, the more deeply he enters into history, the more embarrassing the foibles of his hero become for him, the more does he lose of his impartiality, and the more does he run into indignation at Judaism. If it is embarrassing for him that the otherwise

meek and soft teacher "employed very harsh expressions against his opponents," he explains it in this wise: "Jesus who was exempt from nearly all the defects of his race, was led in spite of himself to make use in polemics of the prevalent style." "One of the principal faults of the Jewish race is its bitterness in controversy, and the abusive tone which it almost always assumes in it." (p. 325). If our author does not, soon after, deduce the manner adopted by Jesus in controversy from Judaism, he so treats it, because he means to reckon it to him for a virtue, saying: "His exquisite irony, his poignant provocations always struck to the heart. Eternal darts, they remained fixed in the wound. The Nessus shirt of ridicule, which the Jew, the son of the Pharisees has dragged after him in tatters for these eighteen hundred years, was woven by Jesus with divine art. Masterpieces of lofty raillery, his traits are written in lines of fire upon the flesh of the hypocrite and the pretended devotee. Incomparable traits, traits worthy of a Son of God! Thus a God alone can kill. Socrates and Molière but graze the skin. He carries fire into the very marrow of the bones." Of the high-priestly race of that time he expresses himself thus: "The spirit of the family was

haughty, bold and cruel; it had that peculiar sort of disdainful and reserved malignity which characterizes Jewish politics!" Mr. Rénan caps the climax at the conclusion. That he calls the death of Jesus (p. 396) a judicial murder, and then again, (p. 411) designates it as legal, except that he says: "the law was detestable," may be passed over. He is also kind enough to confess, that the Jew of our day ought not to suffer for the ancient application of this "detestable law,"—he calls it (p. 412) "the law of an ancient ferocity," thinks that "the hero who offered himself to abrogate it must first of all suffer it," and then continues: "Alas, that more than eighteen hundred years must pass away, before the blood which he is now to shed shall bear its fruits! In his name, for centuries, the torture of death shall be inflicted upon thinkers as noble as he. To-day, even in countries which call themselves Christian, penalties are imposed for religious delinquencies. Jesus is not responsible for these aberrations. He could not forsee that any people with disordered imagination, would ever conceive him a frightful Moloch, greedy for burnt flesh. Christianity has been intolerant; but intolerance is not a trait essentially Christian. It is a Jewish trait, etc."

We are weary to cite such expressions of a thinker who otherwise aspires to impartiality, to show that he also has relapsed into the ancient apologetics which knew to defend only by chiding. However, Mr. Havet has already exposed in the *Revue des deux mondes*, the injustice of this mode of proceeding, and the belles-lettres form in which it is presented removes the necessity of serious refutation. We are at all times ready to enter the arena against distinct proofs which are more than unmeaning assertions. But we would be unjust towards Mr. Rénan, did we charge him with being possessed of a large remnant of religious hatred. His is not the opinion of the Christian concerning Jews and Judaism, it is the jealousy of races between the Aryan, *i. e.*, the Indo-European, or, as we should say, the Indo-German and the Semite. Mr. Rénan, the descendant of Japhet, does even this day contend against the Jew not on account of his belief, but because he is the son of Sem. Let us not follow him in this domain of jealousy of races! Let us pass over to the German. In my opinion it is just the two chapters of Strauss's work, entitled respectively: "DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM," and "DEVELOPMENT of GRECO-ROMAN CULTIVATION," that constitute the weakest portion

of his work. The latter subject, and especially the mode in which it is treated, have, properly speaking, no connection with the general subject of the book. As we have already stated, Grecian culture was perhaps unknown even in name to Jesus, and cannot, therefore, afford the least clue to an illustration of his character. But even for the later development of Christianity Grecian culture constitutes a fermentative element more in its degenerate state than in its earlier nobler form. But Mr. Strauss emphasizes even the latter and would make us believe that it exercised an ennobling, moral influence upon growing Christianity; whereas he denies that Judaism did the same. He indorses an observation of *Welcker*, saying: "Humanity could never have proceeded from Hebrew supernaturalism; for in proportion as the conception of the latter is earnest and exalted, must the authority and the law of the One God and Lord suppress that human religious freedom from which all power and cheerfulness in our aspirations towards the best and noblest aims emanate." Mr. Strauss may have felt the weakness of this argument, for he adds, with the view of fortifying it, as follows: "It was precisely because the Divinity did not confront the Greek in the form

of a commanding law that he was compelled to be a law to himself; because he did not, like the Jew, see his whole life ordered for him step by step, by religious ordinances he was compelled to seek for a moral rule within his own mind." It is certainly high time that the abuse of such abstract construction of history should be dispensed with. Whoever does not make history from such self-created categories, but derives it from the facts presented, and then takes pain to understand it, will soon come to the conclusion, that the moral laws of a nation reflect its convictions of the Deity; the more exalted the idea of God, the higher will be the ideal towards which man aspires. Indeed, it was even the moral rottenness of heathenism at that time that made it easier for Christianity to gain adherents among serious thinkers; Grecian culture in its then decomposed state was a troubled fermentative element, but not, as Strauss would make it, a worthy instructress.

That which Strauss thus adds to Grecian culture, he deducts, in a great measure, from Judaism. With delight he takes hold of its real or pretended defects, and his knowledge of the Judaism of that time is not greater than it was twenty-nine years ago. Even at this time he ransacks *Eisenmenger*

and *Gfroerer*, that they may supply him in the most uncritical manner, with passages from modern works, such as that of an addle-brained cabbalist, Ruben Hoeske, entitled: Yalkut Rubeni, etc., etc. Indeed, his ignorance in this respect is shared by the whole Christian science of Germany; but yet, he almost surpasses it in his ignoring all modern research in Jewish literature, and it is apparent how he delights in coloring Judaism with the darkest shades. His continual placing Priests and Prophets in juxtaposition without divining the fundamental antagonism existing between them; his presenting Priests and Pharisees on the same level, his pictures of the Pharisees and Sadducees, continual dwelling upon the Essenes who exercised very little influence, and of whom only the very unreliable Josephus gives us an account; his manner of manipulating the formulary categbries of uncompromising obstinacy, narrow-mindedness, one-sidedness, national exclusiveness, etc., betray the sad relapse of the historian into the character of a prejudiced apologist —his verbiage presents but a poor cover to his want of knowledge and failure in the exploration of real facts. He thus out-does modern science which, it is true, still gropes in the dark with un-

certain steps in this department, and continues to operate with the old used up material without examining it anew or increasing it, but which now and then feels an inward impulse to gain better knowledge. Mr. Strauss appears to have arrived at a complete conclusion and thereby gives up the office of a historian.

This phenomenon, that men who are as highly praised on one side, as they are condemned on the other, for their religious liberality, are so little familiar with a branch of science which is indispensable to them for a scientific examination of their subject, and still adhere with a certain tenacity to antiquated prejudices, is in many respects very unpleasant. To melt the ice of unjust prejudice may be left to the sun of progressive civilization; but the continued exertions of true science alone can succeed to overcome ignorance. We cannot withhold our accusation against the literati of our own faith, that thus far they have not sufficiently devoted themselves to an investigation of the most important periods and developments of our history, nor afforded, by their own works, material and results to Christian critics that may conduce to a correction of their views; but Christian science cannot be justified on that account.

Scholars would long hesitate in any other department of science to pronounce a decisive judgment upon subjects for the examination of which the necessary premises and capacities are wanting—only as far as Judaism is concerned, they believe to be at liberty to act with sovereign licentiousness. At all events, it is the right as well as the duty of the Jewish scholar emphatically to expose such proceedings. May a thorough and impartial examination of Judaism be seriously undertaken on all sides, and a general diffusion of its knowledge generally be effected!


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